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GREEK ART AND
LITERATURE

530-400 B.C.

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530-400 B.C.

BY

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PREFACE

WHEN a nation produces at the same time supreme works of art and supreme works of literature (ancient Greece and modern France are the obvious examples), an acquaintance with both assists the understanding of either. In this essay I have attempted to elaborate for the fifth century B.C., and particularly for Athenian art and poetry, the parallel history which I sketched in the introduction to *An Anthology of Greek Prose*.¹ The Greeks themselves believed that the two kinds of art ran parallel: Simonides said that poetry was speaking painting and painting silent poetry; Plato, in the last book of the *Republic*, equates mimetic poetry and illusionistic painting; Aristotle compares poets and artists several times in the *Poetics*. But there is not much modern literature on the subject apart from an excellent essay by Winter,² a few pages in Séchan's *Études sur la tragédie grecque*, and occasional cross-references, notably in Fränkel's *Stileigenheit*,³ Snell's *Aischylos*, and Kranz' *Stasimon*.

My indebtedness to works of literary and artistic criticism is greater by far than my notes can indicate. I should like to mention here a few books which have proved particularly valuable. On the literary side, apart from those already mentioned, I have been most helped by Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literatur-Geschichte*, Bowra, *Greek lyric poetry*, Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, and Aly, *Formprobleme*. On the artistic side the works of Beazley,⁴ and particularly his *Greek Vases in Poland*, have

¹ Manchester University Press, 1933.

² *N. Jbb.* 1909, 682.

³ *G.G.N.* 1924, 63.

⁴ *Red-figured Vases in American Museums* are quoted as *V.A.*; *Vases in Poland* as *V.P.* *Attic White Lekythoi* came out too late for me to use.

helped me most; I should like also to mention Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, von Salis, *Kunst der Griechen*, and Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*.

Considerable difficulties are inherent in the subject. It has been skilfully argued¹ that during the archaic and classical periods both art and the artist were far below the poet and poetry in status, and that the creative nature of the plastic arts only began to be highly valued in the Hellenistic age. But the argument is difficult to maintain. Theodorus of Samos in the sixth century, Phidias and Parrhasius in the fifth were clearly great personalities, as great as any poet. The archaic artist like the archaic poet called his art *sophia* (wisdom), and claimed to have been taught by Athena just as the poet had been taught by the Muses. Both artists and poets worked for hire, and in both professions we have evidence that the great men could command great prices and the small men small prices.

The second difficulty is the difficulty of material. For literature we are not badly off. The greatest gap is in Greek comedy where we possess no complete plays by any author except Aristophanes. But here and elsewhere the considerable number of surviving fragments provide very valuable indications of style. In sculpture the loss of almost all substantive statues datable after 480 B.C. is to some extent counterbalanced by the magnificent series of architectural sculptures—Aegina, Olympia, the Parthenon, the Nike temple, the Phigalia temple, &c.; and these, with the descriptions in ancient authors,² can be used as a control in assessing the value of Roman copies, which I have only introduced where they seem to be true to the original. The loss of all great painting is serious, but

¹ Schweitzer, *Neue Heidelberger Jbb.* 1925, 64 f.; *Philol.* 1934, 280.

² Easily obtainable in Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture* (quoted as S.J. with number of extract).

literary texts¹ and the great number of datable Greek vases fill the gap. So much of what the literary texts tell us of the successive discoveries of great painters can be read off from contemporary vases that it is legitimate to use the best vases as evidence, and where, as occasionally in the sixth century and earlier, vases can be compared with large paintings, the best vase-painters are seen to be in no way inferior either in technique or in artistic merit.

There is little evidence of cross influences between literature and art; the possible influence of Sophocles on Polygnotus is perhaps the only instance in the fifth century. But this essay is not concerned with cross influences but with parallel history. Although the correspondence of art and literature must not be pressed too far, most of the categories needed for this study are common to both literary and artistic criticism. The same kind of subject is often chosen by writer and artist, the kind of subject which the public requires at the time. Archaic, classical, and free, idealistic, naturalistic, and realistic, decorated and mannered, sophisticated and 'eclectic' are all terms as applicable to literature as to art. Both artist and poet are composers; they are putting together a whole of parts, and in planning the whole and arranging the transitions between the parts they are faced with similar problems. Within these limits a parallel history is possible.

The whole period, 530-400 B.C., is so short and the movement of styles within it so quick that overlapping and confusion constitutes a serious difficulty. It is true that each generation creates its own style to express its own ideas. But a writer like Xenophanes, who is ahead of his generation in ideas, may still use the old style. When a new style is formed, it is made out of old elements which

¹ Collected in Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen* (quoted as O. with number of extract).

are more or less altered to suit their new uses; the decorative epithets of archaic lyric and epic poetry are used by Aeschylus as the basis of his heavy magnificence; and Aeschylean magnificence becomes in its turn a conceited manner in the poems of Antimachus. In a period of rapid transition very few works of art or literature are pure in style, and it may therefore be necessary to regard one aspect of a play or picture as classical and another as strong or free in style; the latest plays of Aeschylus are affected by the new classical style of Sophocles and the later plays of Sophocles by the new realism. Stylistically, the sculpture of the Parthenon extends from the early classical period to the free. Nevertheless, division by periods is preferable to division by styles. Division by period alone makes it possible to give a fairly complete, if rather complicated, picture of what was happening in each generation.

I have scarcely referred to architecture, and my defence would be that, although the change of architectural styles (and of shapes in pottery) would tell the same story, detailed treatment would have further complicated my narrative and I preferred to restrict myself to representational art, in which the treatment of the subject, as well as the treatment of the form, could be paralleled in literature. In the interests of clearness and at the risk of seeming dogmatic I have cut down my lists of parallel examples to a minimum, particularly in those sections which deal with the continuation of an old style in a new period, and in quoting sculpture and painting I have restricted myself as far as possible to examples in Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern* (cited by page and figure) and Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung* (cited by figure alone).

My chronology of Greek literature is based in the main on Schmid-Stählin and the other works quoted above; the evidence for Bacchylides will be found in Snell's text,

for Sophocles in my *Introduction to Sophocles*,¹ for Euripides in Zielinski, *Tragodoumenon*, and for comedy in Geissler, *Philol. Untersuch.* xxx. For the chronology of Greek art I have used Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*, Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, Beazley (particularly *Greek Vases in Poland*), Stuart Jones and Overbeck.

It was clearly convenient to place the *Suppliants* in the ripe archaic and the *Ajax* in the early classical period. Schmid-Stählin's argument² that, while the *Suppliants* must be earlier than the *Persae* on grounds of style, no play by Aeschylus is likely to have survived from the period before his first victory in 484, seemed to justify a date in the late eighties. The strong Aeschylean flavour of the *Ajax* suggests that it is earlier than the *Antigone* and therefore may be placed before 445. The *Prometheus Vincitus* is, in any case, early classical and on stylistic evidence³ should come at the end of Aeschylus' life.

References are to the Oxford text where possible; to the Budé Antiphon and Isocrates, the Teubner Bacchylides, to Kaibel for Epicharmus, to Kock for the fragments of the Old Comedy, to Diehl for the lyric poets, Hipponax and Theognis, to Diels-Kranz for the Presocratics, including Xenophanes and Critias, and to Nauck for tragic fragments, except those of Sophocles which are quoted from Pearson. (I have not tried to rationalize my spelling.)

In conclusion I should like to thank Lady Barlow, Miss B. M. Collingwood, Mr. M. W. Pritchard, Mr. R. N. Rayne for listening to my first draft, Dr. C. Bailey and Professor E. S. Forster for reading my manuscript and making many useful criticisms, and Mr. V. Knowles for reading my proofs.

T. B. L. W.

MANCHESTER, 1938

¹ See now Heinz, *Hermes*, 1937, 270, for the early dating of the *Trachiniae*. ² ii. 194.

³ See Thomson, *Prometheus Bound*, 45; Yorke, *C.Q.* 1936, 153.

CONTENTS

List of Plates	xiii
Chronological table	xv
I. RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD	I
Introduction: Political factors—movements of artists.	
The sensuous style: Ionian Hedonism, 3—Realism, 5—Composition, 10.	
The sophisticated style: Polymathy, 13—Decoration and mannerism, 15 —Composition, 22.	
The reaction: the new moral ideal, 30.	
(a) The strong style: Ekplexis, 34—Composition, 37.	
(b) The simple style: Simplicity, 39—Composition, 40—Character-drawing, 41.	
Conclusion, 42.	
II. EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD	45
Introduction: Political factors.	
The old style: Polymathy, 48—Decoration and mannerism, 49—Composition, 51.	
The strong style: Hybris and sophrosyne, 53—Ekplexis, 57—Composition, 67.	
The classical style: Character-drawing, 75—Realism, 84—Composition, 86.	
Conclusion, 91.	
III. THE CLASSICAL PERIOD	93
Introduction.	
The old view: Religion and ethics, 94.	
(a) The early classical style: Ekplexis, 100—Plot, characters, metre, 106.	
(b) The classical style: Character-drawing, 108—Realism, 115—Composition, 117.	
The new view: Religion and ethics, 126—Character-drawing, 129—Polymathy, 131—Hedonism, 134.	
(a) The decorated style: mannerism, 136.	
(b) The realistic style, 138.	
Conclusion, 145.	

IV. THE FREE PERIOD	147
Introduction.	
The old view: Religion and ethics, 148.	
The classical style: Character-drawing, 150—Composition, 153—Sunny realism, 163.	
The new view: Ethics, 166—Polymathy, 171.	
(a) Realism: Character-drawing, 174—Realism, 182.	
(b) The rich style: Composition, 189—Richness, decoration, and mannerism, 191.	
V. GENERAL CONCLUSION	199
INDEX	209

LIST OF PLATES

1. <i>a.</i> Head from Miletus. Photograph by Professor Bernard Ashmole.	} facing p. 8	
<i>b.</i> Athenian kore, Acr. 674. From S. Casson in <i>Greece and Rome</i> , ii.		
2. Caeretan hydria: Heracles and Busiris. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei</i> (Verlag F. Bruckmann, Munich)	„	16
3. <i>a.</i> Athletes: relief from Themistoclean wall. National Museum, Athens.	}	24
<i>b.</i> Euthymides: Departure of Hector. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>op. cit.</i>		
4. Cleophrades painter: Sack of Troy. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>op. cit.</i>	„	32
5. Euthydicus kore. Photographs by Professor Bernard Ashmole	„	40
6. Zeus from Artemisium. From <i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , 1929 (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)	„	48
7. <i>a.</i> Euphronius: Heracles and Geryon. Museum für antike Kleinkunst, Munich.	}	56
<i>b.</i> Penthesilea painter: Achilles and Penthesilea. Museum für antike Kleinkunst, Munich.		
8. Altamura painter: Gigantomachy. British Museum	„	64
9. Niobid painter: Slaying of the Niobids. Photograph by Giraudon	„	72
10. Niobid painter: Heracles and the Argonauts. Photograph by Giraudon.	„	80
11. <i>a.</i> Thanatos painter: Scene at tomb. From W. Reizler and A. Furtwängler, <i>Weissgrundige attische Lekythen</i> (Verlag F. Bruckmann, Munich).	}	88
<i>b.</i> Reed painter: Scene at tomb. From W. Reizler and A. Furtwängler, <i>op. cit.</i>		
12. <i>a.</i> Pan painter: Artemis and Actaeon. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>op. cit.</i>	}	96
<i>b.</i> Chicago painter: Polynices and Eriphyle. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>op. cit.</i>		

- | | | |
|--|-----------------|--|
| 13. a. 'Mourning' Athena. National Museum, Athens. | } facing p. 104 | |
| b. Myron: Discobolus. From <i>Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur</i> , 1904 (Verlag F. Bruckmann, Munich). | | |
| c. Demeter of Cherchel. | | |
| 14. a. Achilles painter: Departure of warrior. From W. Reizler and A. Furtwängler, op. cit. | } „ 112 | |
| b. Eretria painter: Dionysiac scene. From E. Pfuhl, <i>Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen</i> (Verlag F. Bruckmann, Munich). | | |
| 15. a. Orpheus painter: Orpheus. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, op. cit. | } „ 120 | |
| b. Dinos painter: Dionysiac scene. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, op. cit. | | |
| 16. a. Parthenon: Metope from S. side. | } „ 128 | |
| b. Parthenon: 'Theseus' from E. pediment. British Museum. | | |
| 17. Parthenon: Slab from E. frieze. Louvre, Paris | „ 136 | |
| 18. a. Boston phiale painter: Actors. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. | } „ 144 | |
| b. Pistoxenus painter: Heracles and Nurse. From E. Pfuhl, op. cit. | | |
| 19. Nike Balustrade: Sandal-binder. Photograph by Alinari | „ 152 | |
| 20. Nike Balustrade: Nike mounting stairway. Photograph by Professor Bernard Ashmole | „ 160 | |
| 21. Nike Balustrade: 'Importunate' Nike. Photograph by Professor Bernard Ashmole | „ 168 | |
| 22. Erechtheum: Caryatids | „ 176 | |
| 23. Meidias painter: Rape of Leucippidae. British Museum | „ 184 | |
| 24. Pelops and Hippodamia. From Furtwängler-Reichhold, op. cit. | „ 192 | |

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF WRITERS, ARTISTS, AND WORKS MENTIONED

Dates before 530.

Anacreon, b. 572. Pythagoras, b. 570. Hecataeus, b. 565. Xenophanes,
b. 560.

Simonides, b. 556. Heraclitus, b. 544. Lasus, b. 544 ϵ . Parmenides,
b. 540.

Phrynichus, b. 550 (?).

540. Hipponax and Bupalus.

534. Thespis' first presentation. Ibycus floruit.

532. Pythagoras went to S. Italy.

530-20.

Aeschylus, b. 525.

Hecataeus' genealogical work.

Anacreon in Samos.

Schrader's kore, Antenor kore, Athenian rider in Oriental dress.

Theodorus working in Samos.

Rhodian terra-cottas. Head from Miletus in Berlin.

524. Siphnian treasury.

Caeretan hydriae. Pontic vases.

Phineus group of Chalcidian vases.

Early Andocides painter.

520-10.

Pindar, b. 518. Bacchylides, b. 516 (?).

520. Xenophanes floruit. Simonides 23, ode for Glaucus of Carystus.
Simonides and Lasus in Athens.

514. Simonides in Thessaly.

511. Phrynichus' first victory (?).

Acropolis head, 643. Reliefs from Themistoclean wall.

Victor statues by Ageladas of Argos.

Early Phintias and Euphronius.

510-00.

Hecataeus' geographical work.

Anacreon in Thessaly.

508. Introduction of dithyrambic contests in Athens.

504. Introduction of Homeric epic into Sicily by Cinaethus of Chios.

Athenian kore 674. Athenian treasury in Delphi.

Eumares (or Eumarus) painting in Athens.

Euphronius, Euthymides, Phintias, Panaitios painter.

500-490.

Anaxagoras, b. 500. Zeno, b. 500 (?). Sophocles and Empedocles, b. 496.

Pythagoras, d. 497.

Anacreon and Simonides in Athens. Theognis and Epicharmus writing.

500c. Heraclitus' book.

500. Aeschylus' first production.

498. Pindar, *P.* x. Contest of Aeschylus and Pratinas.

493. Victory of Melanippides.

492. Phrynichus' *Capture of Miletus*.

Before 490. Bacchylides, fr. 20.

Statues by Callon and Onatas of Aegina.

West pediment of temple of Aphaia at Aegina.

Berlin painter, Cleophrades painter, Brygos painter, Duris, Macron.

490-80.

Ion, b. 490c. Protagoras, b. 480c. Herodotus and Euripides, b. 484.

Gorgias, b. 483. Anacreon, d. 487. Heraclitus, d. 484.

Parmenides writing.

490. Pindar, *P.* vi, xii.

487. First victory of Chionides.

485. Pindar, *N.* v (?), vii. Bacchylides, xiii.

484. Aeschylus' first victory.

Before 480. Aeschylus, *Suppliants*. Pindar, *N.* ii. Bacchylides, xi.

Athenian kore 684, Euthydicus kore, blond boy, Critian boy.

East Pediment of Aegina. Harpy tomb.

Berlin painter, Cleophrades painter, Duris, Macron.

480-70.

Melissus and Antiphon, b. 480c. Hecataeus, d. 480 (?). Xenophanes, d. 475.

Bacchylides, xv (?), xvii, xviii.

480. Pindar, *I.* vi.

478. Pindar, *I.* v. Timocreon, *I.*

476. Pindar, *O.* i, ii, x, xi; *N.* i; *I.* iv. Bacchylides, v. Phrynichus, *Phoenissae*. Simonides in Syracuse.

474. Pindar, *P.* i, iii; *N.* iii.

473. Victory of Magnes.

472. Pindar, *O.* xii; *P.* ii (?). Aeschylus, *Persae*.

Tarentine terra-cottas. Locrian terra-cottas.

477. Tyrannicides by Critius and Nesiotes.

472. Pythagoras' statue of Euthymus.

Berlin painter, Pan painter, Duris, Macron, Telephus painter, Pistoxenus painter, Sotades painter, Penthesilea painter, Beldam painter.

470-60.

Socrates, b. 469. Parmenides, d. 470. Pratinas, d. 467. Simonides, d. 466.

470. Pindar, *I.* ii (?).

468. Pindar, *O.* vi. Bacchylides, iii. Sophocles, *Triptolemus*.

467. Aeschylus, *Septem*.

466. Pindar, *O.* ix. Corax teaching rhetoric in Sicily.

464. Pindar, *O.* vii, xiii.

462. Pindar, *P.* iv.

'Mourning' Athena.

Zeus from Artemisium, Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, Hestia Giustiniani.

Ludovisi and Boston thrones, Temple E at Selinus.

465c. Beginning of Zeus temple at Olympia.

Cimon of Cleonae (?) and Agatharchus painting.

Pan painter, Sotades painter, Sabouroff painter, Altamura painter, Niobid painter, Penthesilea painter.

460-50.

Democritus, b. 460. Thucydides and Critias, b. 460 (?). Lysias, b. 459 (?). Aeschylus, d. 456.

460. Anaxagoras and Zeno flourerunt.

458. Aeschylus, *Oresteia*.

456. Bacchylides, i, ii. Aeschylus, *Prometheus* (?).

455. Euripides' first production.

454. Pindar, *P.* xi; *I.* vii.

453. Cratinus' first victory.

452. Bacchylides, vi.

457. Completion of Zeus temple at Olympia.

456. Victor statue by Myron.

Micon, Panaenus, and Polygnotus painting.

Niobid painter, Villa Giulia painter, Euæon painter, Achilles painter,
Chicago painter, Sabouroff painter, Alcimachus painter.

450-40.

Aristophanes, b. 450c. Timotheus and Agathon, b. 447. Andocides,
b. before 440. Bacchylides, d. 450c. Pindar, d. 445c.

Protagoras in Athens. Early tragedies of Ion. Sophocles, *Ajax*.
Cratinus, *Odysseuses*. Pindar, *N.* xi, x.

450. Crates' first victory.

449. Cratinus, *Archilochi*.

446. Pindar, *P.* viii.

445. Herodotus in Athens.

443. Sophocles, *Antigone*. Empedocles floruit.

442. Euripides' first victory.

Metopes of Theseum, Demeter of Charchel, Kore Albani, 'Lemnian'
Athena.

448. Phidias floruit.

447. Beginning of Parthenon metopes.

442. Beginning of Parthenon frieze.

Athlete statues by Polyclitus.

Niobids in Terme and Copenhagen.

Nausicaa painter, Chicago painter, Achilles painter, Thanatos painter,
Sabouroff painter, painter of Boston phiale.

440-30.

Isocrates, b. 436. Philoxenus, b. 435. Empedocles, d. 435.

Sophocles, *Telepheia*, *Trachiniae*. Cratinus, *Thracian Women*, *Mal-
thakoi*, *Chirons*. Teleclides, *Amphictyons*.

Antiphon, i. Antiphon, philosophical writings. Pherecrates writing.

440. Sophron and Melissus flourished. Pericles' funeral speech in
Samian War.

438. Euripides, *Telephus*, *Alcestis*, &c.
 431. Euripides, *Medea*, *Philoctetes*, &c.
 Cresilas' Pericles. Dresden Zeus. Berlin Amazon. Eleusis relief.
 438. Dedication of Athena Parthenos.
 432. Completion of the Parthenon.
 Early work of Apollodorus and Parrhasius.
 Painter of Boston phiale, Lycaon painter, Orpheus painter, Cleophon painter, Thanatos painter, Rectangle painter.
- 430-20.
 Plato, b. 428. Anaxagoras, d. 428. Ion, d. 422c.
 Euripides, *Heracleidae*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Suppliants*, *Stheneboea*, *Melanippe Sapiens*, *Bellerophon*, *Cyclops*. Cratinus, *Seriphians*. Hermippus, *Porters*. Aristophanes, *Farmers*.
 Plato, *Alliance*.
 Herodotus' history. Hippocrates, *de aeribus* &c., *de morbo sacro*.
 Gorgias, *Helen*, *Palamedes*.¹
 430. Cratinus, *Dionysalexandros*.
 429. Sophocles, *O.T.* Cratinus, *Nemesis*.
 428. Euripides, *Hippolytus*. Ion won third prize.
 427. Aristophanes, *Banqueters*. Eupolis, *Captains*. Gorgias in Athens.
 425. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*. Diogenes of Apollonia flouruit.
 424. Aristophanes, *Knights*. Antiphon, *On the murder of Herodes*.²
 423. Aristophanes, *Clouds*.
 422. Aristophanes, *Wasps*.
 421. Euripides, *Erechtheus*. Aristophanes, *Peace*. Eupolis, *Flatterers*.
 Alcámenes' Procne. Orpheus relief.
 Polyclitus' Hera of Argos.
 Paeonius' Nike.
 Early work of Zeuxis.
 Eretria painter, Codrus painter, Penelope painter, Rectangle painter, Reed painter.
- 420-10.
 Protagoras, d. 415. Antiphon, d. 411.
 Sophocles, *Electra*. Euripides, *H.F.*, *I.T.*, *Phaethon*. Aristophanes, *Danaids*.
 Timotheus in Athens.

¹ Maas, *Hermes*, 1887, 579.² Breuning, *C.Q.* 1934, 67.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

420. Democritus and Thrasymachus floruerunt.
 419. Prodicus of Ceos floruit.
 417. Old Oligarch, *Constitution of Athens*.
 416. Agathon's first victory.
 415. Euripides, *Trojan Women*, &c. Critias floruit. Isocrates in Thes-
 saly.
 414. Aristophanes, *Birds*.
 413. Euripides, *Electra*.
 412. Euripides, *Helen*, *Andromeda*. Eupolis, *Demes*. Antiphon, vi.
 Lysias in Athens.
 411. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*.

Frieze of Nike temple. Caryatids of Erechtheum. Crito stele.

420. Aglaophon floruit.
 Painter of Berlin Dinos, Pelops amphora, Rectangle painter, Reed
 painter.

410-00.

Euripides, d. 406. Sophocles, d. 405. Critias, d. 403.

Sophocles, *O.C.* Euripides, *Ion*, *Antiope*, *Hypsipyle*, *Bacchae*, *I. A.*,
Alcmaeon in Corinth. Aristophanes, *Phoenissae*.

Thucydides' history. Lysias, xx, xxiv, xxxi. Isocrates, xviii, xxi.

Timotheus, *Persae*. Philoxenus, dithyrambs.

410. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*.
 409. Sophocles, *Philoctetes*. Euripides, *Phoenissae*.
 408. Euripides, *Orestes*. Aristophanes, *Gerytades*.
 407. Euripides, *Archelaus*.
 406. Timotheus floruit.
 405. Aristophanes, *Frogs*.
 404. Antimachus and Choerilus floruerunt.
 403. Lysias, xii.
 400. Lysias, xxxii.

Callimachus and Demetrius of Alopecce working.

Nike balustrade, frieze of Erechtheum, tombstone of Hegeso, 'Venus
 genetrix'.

Nereid monument, Trysa monument, Lycian sarcophagus.

Phigalia temple.

Timanthes painting.

Meidias painter, Aristophanes, California hydria, polychrome lekythoi.

I. RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH this essay is primarily concerned with the history of Athenian literature and art in the fifth century B.C., the various literary and artistic tendencies which come to fruition then have their origin in the sixth century. The year 530 is a convenient starting-point. The Athenian dramatic contests had then been in existence for four years, and the earliest red-figured vases were already being painted. The first chapter will end with the year 480, since the experiences of that year and the next, Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, hastened the transition from the ripe archaic to the early classical period.

In politics the most important factor is the power of Persia, with which the mainland Greeks came into contact during the Ionian revolt of 500 and then during the two invasions of 490 and 480. Inside the Greek world the chief political forces are these: in the East Polycrates ruled Samos roughly from 537 to 520; in Athens the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons gave place to democracy in 510; in the West Gelo became tyrant of Gela in 491 and later tyrant of Syracuse. These political events were not without their effect on thought and art, an effect partly due to material conditions and partly to a change of values. The inroads of the Persians and the dissensions of the Ionians themselves caused the exile of many distinguished citizens, who found new homes in Athens or Syracuse or elsewhere in the more western Greek countries. First Samos, then Athens, and lastly Syracuse provided the atmosphere in which the arts could flourish, and opened their doors freely to foreigners.

The surviving records of thinkers, writers, and artists show movement from Ionia to the West, Ionia to Athens, and from the Peloponnese to Athens. The Ionian thinkers Pythagoras and Xenophanes both went to Magna Graecia in the second half of the sixth century, and thereby greatly influenced the Western philosopher Parmenides. The rhapsode Cinaethus of Chios is said to have introduced the Homeric epic into Sicily in 504. The Samian sculptor Pythagoras went to Italy about the same time. In Athens the recitation of the Ionian Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had already become part of the Panathenaic festival, and the Ionian lyric poets Anacreon and Simonides were both visitors during the last quarter of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century. The Peloponnesian impact perhaps began with Lasus of Hermione, whose presence may have been responsible for the introduction of dithyrambic contests in 508. The Argive sculptor Ageladas was working in Athens at the turn of the century. The record that Pindar came to Athens from Boeotia, Pratinas (the founder of the satyr play) from Phlius, and the sculptors Callon and Onatas from Aegina proves that the new democracy maintained the tradition of welcoming foreign artists.

So far only definite and attested movements of artists and writers have been mentioned; but the same movements can be traced from the works themselves, and it is clear that they were even more important than the literary sources suggest, and that works as well as artists could carry a foreign influence across the sea. Three quotations will show how the archaeologist regards the three impacts of which we have spoken. Payne thus speaks of the Ionian impact on Athens: 'In the decades immediately succeeding the year 550, the Ionian elements multiply; Ionian dress, in several forms, becomes universal; Ionian physical types, or at least an approximation to them, become common and Attic sculpture discovers an

interest in surface decoration which can be traced far back in the East, but has no origin we can detect in its own early tradition.¹ Ashmole says of the Ionian impact on Magna Graecia: 'A great impulse comes into art in Sicily and South Italy at the end of the sixth . . . century. Since it comes at that time, naturally I suspect Ionian immigration as one of the causes.'² Thirdly, Payne speaks thus of the formation of the new style: 'The abandonment of the tradition of the ripe archaic period in Attica must naturally have been an act of free will, but that it was strictly spontaneous is improbable. It is in the Peloponnese that many of the characteristic forms of the new style grew up, and thence they must have passed to Athens.'³

The change of values caused by these movements outside and inside the Greek world shows itself in a succession of four styles, the sensuous style of the court of Polycrates, the sophisticated style of the Pisistratid court, and two reactions which may be called respectively the violent and the simple style. The styles are not completely exclusive; poet and artist can work now in one and now in another. The old styles survive by the side of the new, even in the most advanced centres like Athens. But these four categories are useful because they represent essential differences.

THE SENSUOUS STYLE

Ionian civilization centres round a court, and its chief components are enjoyment of life and curiosity. Enjoyment of life implies ability to appreciate form and feeling of every kind, and therefore a sensuous and realistic art. Curiosity, on the other hand, implies a learned and educated audience with a delight in sophistication, allusion, wit, and formal perfection. This second manifestation of the

¹ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, 56.

² Ashmole *ap.* Wade-Gery, *Greek Poetry and Life*, 74.

³ Payne, *op. cit.* 42.

Ionian spirit reaches its height in Athens at the court of the Pisistratids. Sensuous art is characteristic of the court of Polycrates.

The love-poetry of Ibycus and Anacreon and the sculptured ladies of terra-cotta and stone are typical of the Ionian spirit. For delight in physical and natural beauty is part of the Ionian heritage, and can be traced back to the descriptions of Sappho and yet farther to the imagery of Homer. The philosophy behind this enjoyment of life is not heroic. Homer's Achilles at times forgets his heroism and regards life as more precious than glory. In our period Anacreon¹ 'often sobs' in fear of death.

Grey are both my temples
And my head is white now:
Gone is youth the charmer
And my teeth are ageing.

Little time is left me
For the sweets of living.
That's why I often sob now
Of Tartarus affrighted.

For dread is Hades' chamber
And grim the downward pathway.
For those who have descended
Awaits no reascending.

The Ionian loves the pleasures of life and lacks the strength to face death or discomfort. Therefore the Ionian cities had not the courage or discipline to stand before the armed might of the Persian empire. Herodotus² beautifully illustrates their failure when he tells the story of an attempt to discipline the Ionian fleet. After a week the Ionians, 'who were unused to such toil and worn away by hardship and exposure', said among themselves: "Rather than these evils it is better for us to suffer any-

¹ Anacreon, 44.

² Hdt. vi. 12.

thing, and to put up with any future slavery rather than be constrained by this slavery. Come, let us not obey him any more." They said this and after that they all refused to obey.' They lacked the sterner virtues of which the Athenians had enough and the Spartans too much.

Enjoyment of life influences the content, treatment, and form of Ionian literature and art. Ionians lived in the present, and were interested in the ugliness as well as the beauty of the world that surrounded them. At the beginning of our period realism and caricature are found in Hipponax of Ephesus, whose descriptions of everyday life form an intermediate stage between his predecessor Archilochus and the later writers of Sicilian mime and Athenian comedy. When he describes a woman as 'drinking out of a pail. For she had no cup. For the boy had fallen on it and broken it',¹ he is describing a scene of ordinary life, and probably satirizing a well-known character in Ephesus. Among others he satirized the Chian sculptors Bupalus and Athenis, who had already caricatured him.² There is no valid reason for doubting the story, since many contemporary grotesques survive—paunchy men and boys and large-headed dwarfs in terracotta, and the comic little man with the over-developed calves who sprints eternally round a white-ground Ionian amphora.³ The sculptors had only to make a grotesque and label it Hipponax. They were actuated by the same motives as the poet and appealed to the same audience.

Satire continues in Ionia, Athens, and the West after the time of Hipponax. Anacreon⁴ cruelly describes the *nouveau riche* Artemon: 'Before he had a shabby wasped cap and wooden dice in his ears and a bare ox-skin about his loins, the unwashed apron of a cheap shield. . . . But now

¹ 16.

² S. J. 25.

³ Cf. Rumpf, *Arch. Anz.* 1936, 54, for discussion and examples.

⁴ 54.

the son of Cyce (Artemon) rides in a carriage, with golden ear-rings, and carries an ivory umbrella, just like a woman.' Every word is pointed. Artemon's cap is not made of the correct material; he wears dice for ear-rings, and wooden dice at that; he is dressed in a shield apron, and it is the *unwashed* apron of a *cheap* shield.

From Ionia the tradition of realistic caricature spreads westward. Epicharmus, the Sicilian comic poet, is neither so sharp nor so stinging as Anacreon, but his description of a parasite¹ is in the same line. 'Then I am witty and raise many a laugh and praise my host . . . Afterwards having drunk and eaten much, I go. No slave carries my torch, I go slipping about, alone in the dark. If I meet the police, I thank god if they do nothing worse than beat me . . . but I don't care as long as the drink envelops my wits.' An Athenian cup² provides an illustration, in which a pair of revellers are belabouring an ugly, bearded man on the way home. Probably the earliest writers of comedy also wrote in this vein, and something of the same spirit found its way into tragedy. The Egyptians in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus,³ with their white clothes, black limbs, and wild cries are intentionally comic.

Ripe archaic artists do not shrink from the unpleasant, the ugly, and the painful. The well-known cup⁴ by the Brygos painter with the boy vomiting while his sister holds his head is one of many such scenes. Fallen figures, dying or dead, are common in sculpture and painting. The giant Astartas on the North frieze⁵ of the Siphnian treasury was carved by an Island Ionian sculptor: the mask-like face, the helpless legs twisted to face the spectator, and the arms, one clawing at the ground, the other clutching at his head, express his agony. More realistic still is a fragment of a falling Amazon from a metope of the

¹ 34-5.

² Pfuhl, fig. 406 (Panaitios ptr.).

³ *Suppl.* 719, 836.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 421.

⁵ Winter, 209, fig. 6.

Athenian treasury at Delphi.¹ 'Her legs give way under her, and while the quiver on her hip rattles to the ground, her belt breaks.' These works contain no element of satire or caricature but direct appreciation of physical pain.

Physical beauty appealed no less strongly to Ionian poets and artists. The fragments of Ibycus, the Western poet who came to the court of Polycrates and drank deep of its delights, reveal a love-poetry which for its colour and feeling can be classed with Keats and Shelley. In a poem to a boy, Euryalus,² he says: 'Child of the grey-eyed Graces, love of the fair-tressed (Muses), Cypris and lovely-lidded Persuasion reared you among roses.' The adjectives give some idea of what the Ionian required in a beauty—grey eyes, lovely hair, and beautiful eyelids—and the picture can be completed from statues and vases. The colouring of the eyes has disappeared from most statues, but some of the figures on vases clearly have light eyes.³ The elaborately dressed hair of the Caryatids from the Siphnian treasury⁴ illustrates 'fair-tressed'. The adjective 'lovely-lidded' (the word means perhaps 'gentle' or 'soothing' rather than 'lovely') could well be applied to a group of Ionian works produced in the second half of the sixth century which I have called elsewhere 'sleepy-eyed'.⁵ A Rhodian terra-cotta in Berlin and a small marble head from Miletus⁶ (Pl. 1 a) are good examples; both have long narrow eyes with heavy lids, and exquisitely modelled cheeks and mouth. In the marble the ear shows through the veil over the head. The terra-cotta lady wears her hair elaborately dressed and a rich dress pulled tight to

¹ Poulsen, *Delphi*, fig. 89, p. 193.

² Ibycus, 8.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 380 (below).

⁴ Winter, 209, fig. 2.

⁵ *Antiquaries Journal*, xvi. 141, with references.

⁶ Winter, 201, figs. 4-5; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 70.

show off her figure. The subtle modelling of the cheeks in these two works recalls a line of Phrynichus—'The light of love shines on crimson cheeks'.¹

Phrynichus was the predecessor of Aeschylus on the Athenian tragic stage, and followed Ionian rather than Dorian models.² Like Simonides, he appears to have been the friend of Themistocles, and may thus have belonged to an Ionizing circle in Athens. According to Aristophanes³ he was handsome and handsomely dressed and therefore his plays were handsome too; this epithet would better suit the smooth, rich Ionian style than the loaded and contorted phrasing of Aeschylus; and in fact the surviving iambics⁴ recall Sophocles, while his lyric metres are more like Anacreon and Simonides than Aeschylus. His poetry is a parallel phenomenon to the Ionizing korai of the Acropolis. Much Ionian influence can be seen in a wonderful head, recently republished by Payne⁵ and dated by him to 520-510, the decade of Phrynichus' first victory. Payne thus describes the head: 'The lips are carved upon a convex surface which runs deep into the surrounding area of the face . . . the eyes pass by indefinable transitions into the brows and cheeks; the eye is conceived as a single entity with its lids, which, thick and soft as in no other archaic work, disclose the eye beneath as the bud of a poppy opens to disclose the flower.'

Aeschylus for the most part shows little Ionian sensuousness, but when in the *Suppliants* Danaus warns his daughters to take care as they walk through the town, he describes them as if they were Ionian maidens, and fears that the Argive men may be moved by their suggestive

¹ 13.

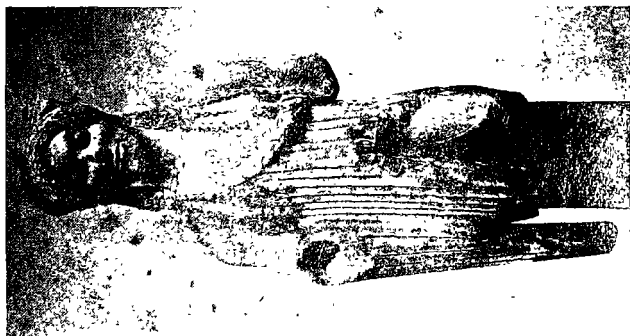
² Schmid-Stählin, ii, 177.

³ *Thesm.* 164. In *Frogs*, 1299, Phrynichus is clearly contrasted with Aeschylus.

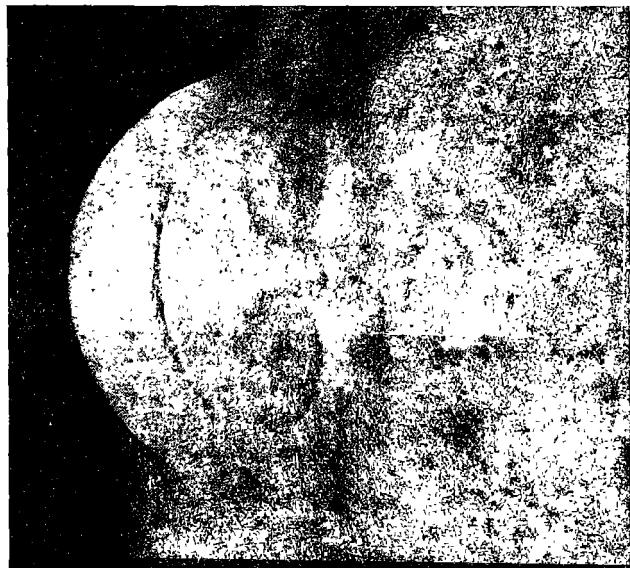
⁴ e.g. the line preserved by Photius (Reitzenstein, 154. 7); 21.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. 70, p. 38.

PLATE 1



b. Athenian Kore, Acr. 674.



a. Head from Miletus.

drapery.¹ 'Cypris proclaims ripe fruit, laying it bare of its fair draperies to wait for love, and on the rich dress and lovely shape of the maidens the eye of every passer sends a winning shaft, conquered by desire.' Women such as these were sculpted by an Ionian on the Harpy Tomb² in the second decade of the fifth century.

Natural as well as physical beauty appealed to the Ionian. The dictum that the Greeks took no interest in natural beauty is certainly untrue of Ionia and the regions under the influence of Ionian culture in the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century. Trees and plants, birds and animals occur in their poetry and painting. Ibycus³ compares his unseasonable love with 'a Thracian North wind, fiery bright with lightning . . . dark and undaunted', and contrasts its fierce untimely onslaughts with the spring flowering of 'Cretan quinces and pears that rivers water in the maidens' unguarded garden . . . and vine shoots under the shade of vine leaves'. In another fragment⁴ he speaks of 'coloured ducks and bright-necked shagpurples and long-winged halcyons'. Contemporary vase-painters share his love for vegetation and animals. The painter of the Caeretan hydriae⁵ draws trees growing from the roof of the cave in which Hermes hid the oxen of Apollo, and a rabbit running up through the trees; and palms, ivy, and vines fill the background of the Phineus cup.⁶

No one could catch the atmosphere of a natural scene better than the lyric poet Simonides. The Danae fragment⁷ expresses perfectly Danae's horror of the wind and waves beating on the brazen chest in which she has been

¹ 1001. I accept the reading of Untersteiner, *Athenaeum*, 1935, 299.

² Winter, 208, figs. 4-6.

³ Ibycus, 6.

⁴ Ibid. 9.

⁵ *J.H.S.* 1928, pl. 13. On realistic representation of nature see von Salis, *Kunst der Griechen*, 68.

⁶ Pfuhl, fig. 164.

⁷ Simonides, 13.

cast adrift, and her tender love for Perseus: 'as you lie in your purple cloak, your face against my face . . . Sleep, I bid you, baby, sleep, O sea, and sleep, boundless woe.' Quite different in feeling but equally effective is the Orpheus fragment:¹ 'And countless birds flew above his head, fish leapt straight up out of the blue sea because of the lovely song.' The words can be illustrated by a red-figured hydria² on which the Berlin painter has painted Apollo singing while he sails over the sea in his winged tripod, and the dolphins leaping for joy at the song.

The Berlin painter can legitimately be used to illustrate Simonides, because Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides carried the Ionian tradition on into the fifth century. Bacchylides,³ in a victory ode written in 485, describes the chorus of maidens who will sing the praises of the victor in his Aeginetan home. 'Your praise is told by a proud maiden in the holy land, with swift feet, like a care-free fawn on the flowery hills, lightly leaping with the noble maids, her neighbours. They, crowned, as the custom there is, with scarlet flowers and reeds, sing of thy glory, queen of the hospitable land.' As Wilamowitz⁴ remarks, 'this pretty picture with its compliment to the female sex is something extremely unpindaric'. It is, however, true Ionian in its colour and charm, inspired by a delight in the ordinary scene, which is found again in many of the quieter pictures on early red-figured vases, for instance the cup by Duris in the British Museum⁵ with a woman in her bedroom smelling a rose.

Although the form of poetry or art may be influenced by various circumstances such as religious or indeed artistic or literary tradition, a spirit as clearly marked as the sensuous spirit of the Ionian is likely to find its own peculiar expression. Precision of shape and complication

¹ Simonides, 27.

² Beazley, *Berlinermaler*, pl. 25.

³ xiii. 83.

⁴ *Pindaros*, 173.

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 462.

of structure do not accord with the easy-going and pleasure-loving side of the Ionian character, and in fact many works are remarkable for the easy flow of their composition. At the worst, organization and structure are abandoned for simple addition; sentence is added to sentence (or within the sentence phrase to phrase), or figure to figure without any underlying scheme, so that the end comes only when the subject-matter has been exhausted or the space has been filled. One of the longer fragments of the geographer Hecataeus¹ runs as follows: 'Orestheus the son of Deucalion came to Aetolia for a kingdom, and his dog gave birth to a stake, and he gave orders for it to be buried, and from it grew a vine with many clusters. Therefore he also called his child Phytius. His son was Oeneus, called after the vines (for the ancient Greeks called vines *oinai*). Oeneus' son was Aetolus.' The principle of construction is to add clause to clause with 'and' for connexion, and the reader does not know beforehand where a pause will come. The friezes of the Harpy tomb² and some Athenian vases³ have a similar artlessness: figure succeeds figure with no definite connexion and the frieze has no end except that dictated by the available space.

In other works the apparently natural and easy flow of the composition conceals the structure underneath. Poems of Ibycus⁴ and others are carefully constructed, but the swing of rhythm and words carries the reader forward so that he does not notice the transitions. In particular, although the Greek loves to emphasize contrasts, these poets sometimes imply rather than state a contrast.⁵ The first poem of Xenophanes provides an example:⁶ 'For now the floor is clean and the hands of all and the cups. He

¹ 15; cf. Hipponax, 16; Heraclitus, 117; Ibycus, 3; Fränkel, *Eine Stileigenheit*, 87 f. ² Winter, 208, figs. 4-6. ³ Pfuhl, fig. 444.

⁴ Ibycus, 6; Anacreon, 2.

⁵ Bacchylides, fr. 20b; Theognis, 237 f.

⁶ Xenophanes, 1; cf. Fränkel, *op. cit.* 95 f.

puts woven wreaths (on their heads). Another offers scented myrrh in a dish. A mixing-bowl is set full of good cheer. Another wine is ready, which says it will never betray, soft, smelling of flowers in the cups.' We expect the last sentence to stop first at 'ready' and then at 'betray', but each time the poet has something more to tell and adds it on at the end. The sentences are joined by the particle *δέ* (and); the poet avoids the obvious contrasts between 'one servant' and 'another', 'one wine' and 'another'. He aims at smoothness and trusts to his rhythm to carry the reader forward and to the clarity of his thought to make his disposition intelligible. He does not punctuate or emphasize his thought by making sense divisions and metrical divisions correspond.¹

If an Ionian figure of the third quarter of the sixth century is put beside a typical Athenian statue² of the same time, it is clear that, where the Athenian likes sharp and definite forms, the Ionian likes flowing line and blurs the transition from part to part; the Athenian gives sharpness and precision, the Ionian a subtle and living outline. The same is true of Ionian painting. In the Ionian picture of Heracles and Busiris³ (Pl. 2) the underlying scheme of composition is masked by the flowing movement of the whole. The delight in flowing line is not confined to Ionia, but lives on into the fifth century in Attica.⁴

The sensuous style continues long after its *floruit*, and is not wholly supplanted by later styles. It is at its height in the time of Polycrates, and its most representative works are the love-poems of Ibycus and contemporary Ionian

¹ In lyric poetry also the sense often runs freely over the verse divisions, e.g. Ibycus, 6; Pindar, fr. 109; Bacchylides, fr. 20b.

² Winter, 201, figs. 4-5; 216, figs. 4-5.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 152: contrast *ibid.*, fig. 313.

⁴ e.g. the Citharoedus by the Berlin painter; Beazley, *Berlinmaler*, pl. 21.

sculpture in stone and terra-cotta. Its characteristics are colour and warmth, a feeling for surface and for volume, and gentle flowing lines which mask the transitions from part to part.

THE SOPHISTICATED STYLE

By the side of this style arises another, more sophisticated, precise, and formal. Although associated particularly with the court of the Pisistratids in Athens, it has its origin in the learned curiosity of the Ionians, the desire for much information which, according to Heraclitus,¹ does not teach intelligence. We are concerned with Ionian polymathy in so far as it affects art and literature. A group of vases painted in the twenties of the sixth century and called from their place of discovery the Caeretan hydriae is evidence, if not for the knowledge of the vase-painter, at least for the knowledge of the great painters whose works he copied and for the readiness of the spectator to appreciate learning. He illustrates the Homeric hymn to Hermes and Aristeas' epic of the Arimaspians, and in drawing the embassy to Achilles has followed the ninth book of the *Iliad* even to the point of writing the name 'Odios' against the figure of Ajax' herald.² On the well-known Busiris vase³ (Pl. 2) he indicates the difference between fair Egyptians, dark Egyptians, and negroes, between Egyptian dress and Greek; he knows also that the king of Egypt wears an *uraeus* and a beard-case—the former he paints, to the latter he alludes by giving the king a stubbly chin. These vases give some idea of the intellectual level of the average Ionian.

From Ionia polymathy spreads to Sicily and Athens. Epicharmus alludes in his poetry to Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and Xenophanes. When a character, presumably a bogus wiseman, announces 'You and I were different people yesterday from what we are to-day, and we shall be different

¹ Heraclitus, 40.

² *Mon. Piot*, 1933, 67.

³ Pfuhl, figs. 152-3.

again and never the same according to this reasoning',¹ his words not only show that the writer knew Heraclitus, but also that the audience would enjoy the allusion. Aeschylus continues the learned tendency of the Ionians in Athens. The account of Persian customs in the *Persae*, and the geographical speeches of the *Prometheus Vincitus* and *Agamemnon* belong to the early classical period. In the *Suppliants* the chorus give a geographical account of the wanderings of Io, and the poet shows a considerable knowledge of Egyptian religion, customs, and geography.²

A learned public finds its amusement in parody and mock heroism. With these the literature and art of the ripe archaic period are well stocked. The Busiris picture already mentioned is a great comic drawing;³ in the next movement the mighty Greek will have slain the Egyptian king and all his puny supporters; the negro police force arrives too late. A contemporary painter in painting the judgement of Paris shows no respect for the goddesses; they look like prostitutes selling their favours.⁴ The same vein of parody and mock heroism appears in Athenian vases of the early fifth century. The Panaitios painter draws Heracles returning home with the enormous Erymanthian boar over his shoulder; he proposes to throw it on to the top of the terrified Eurystheus, who lifts his hands in supplication from his jar.⁵ The Brygos painter shows us a scene possibly connected with some satyr play: Hera is attacked by lean and lascivious satyrs, and Heracles arrives to the rescue, dressed in Scythian clothes like an Athenian policeman.⁶

Literature has a long tradition of parody and mock heroism, dating back to the eighth book of the *Odyssey*. At the beginning of our period Hipponax parodies the

¹ 170.

² See Kranz, *Stasimon*, 98 f.

³ Cf. his *Hermes*, Return of *Hephaestus*, *Heracles* and *Cerberus*.

⁴ Pfühl, fig. 156 (Pontic).

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 401.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 424.

prologues of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* when he writes: 'Muse, tell me of the sea whirlpool, the sword in the belly of Eurymedontiades, who eats beyond measure, how by the People's will he is voted to destruction along a bitter path on the shores of the unharvested sea.'¹ In these lines the invocation, the long words, the standing epithets, and the patronymic are parodies of Homer. The 'People's will' is substituted for the Homeric will of Zeus. Here a contemporary is described in heroic language; in another fragment² a god, Hermes, is reduced to the stature of everyday life by being called 'footpad' and 'burglar's mate'. In the same way a mortal athlete can be praised as superior to two demigods.³

The Ionian tradition passes to the West, and Heracles is thus described by Epicharmus⁴: 'First, if you saw him eating, you would die. His throat roars, his jaw clashes, his molars rattle, his grinders squeak, his nostrils snort, and he waggles his ears.' Of course, Epicharmus may be following a Peloponnesian rather than an Ionian comic tradition, but the Peloponnesian tradition itself may go back to the Ionian Homer, and in any case we are only concerned to note that realistic representation of heroes and parody occurs at this time in the West as well as in Ionia. For Athens we have not so much evidence, but there is no doubt that the difficult fragment of Pratinas⁵ in which apparently the chorus of satyrs drives a chorus of flute-players off the stage is a parody of the new dithyrambic style introduced into Athens by Lasus of Hermione.

Such humour presupposes a sophisticated audience, and this side of the Ionian character makes a rather different demand on the writer and artist. Ionian sensuousness is satisfied with realism and flowing line: the sophisticated

¹ 77.

² 4.

³ Simonides, 23; cf. Bowra, *op. cit.* 325.

⁴ 21. On Peloponnesian tradition, Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, &c.*, 264.

⁵ 1.

require decoration, formalism, and even mannerism. Natural beauty of form or colour or expression is not enough for those who are used to the artificial beauty of a court and its accoutrements. Simonides¹ gives a charioteer crimson reins, Theseus' ship a crimson sail, and a singing girl crimson lips. Ionian vases are gay with decorative colour, and the Siphnian treasury is like a jewel casket with its painted sculpture, its Caryatids, and rich Ionian mouldings.

The marble maidens dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis of Athens are also gay with colour. Hair, eyes, lips, and jewellery are usually red, the upper part of the chiton red or green, the himation and the lower part of the chiton white with coloured patterns and borders. Schrader's kore,² a work of about 525, is perhaps the most striking example of many. 'The hair shows no less than four different systems of stylization: waved ridges on the crown, broad flat zigzags at the back, ropelike twists for the shoulder locks, and two distinct layers of finely engraved strands on the forehead . . . and to the sculptured detail was added a maze of painted ornament, some of it incredibly minute.' The coloured patterns can be seen on the clothes drawn by vase-painters. Ripe archaic patterning is daintier and prettier than the massed pattern of Exekias and the earlier black-figure painters. Take for instance the Concert³ by the Andocides painter, painted not long after 530. All three young men are wearing bordered chitons, each border having four rows of patterns; the patterns in the field of the chitons differ—the first young man has triangles of dots, the second crosses with dots between the bars, and the third triangles of dots and Maltese crosses.

¹ 17, 33, 44; cf. Bowra, *op. cit.* 392.

² Payne, *op. cit.* 28; Winter, 216, fig. 4.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 313; cf. later *ibid.*, fig. 473 (Berlin ptr.).



Cacretan hydria: Heracles and Busiris.

Clothing is decorative and even exotic. Young Athenians seem to have worn Oriental dress as a kind of uniform, since Athenian riders in Eastern costume appear both in marble and on vases.¹ Choruses composed of Eastern peoples add to the decorative effect of contemporary tragedy. Phrynichus' *Antaeus* had a chorus of Libyans. His two political plays, the *Capture of Miletus* and the *Phoenician Women*,² must both have had an abundance of Eastern costumes; we know that the latter contained a chorus of Phoenician women, a chorus of Persians, and a Persian eunuch. In the *Suppliants* Aeschylus insists on the foreign appearance both of the Danaids and of their captors. The Danaids themselves are 'a blackened, sun-smitten race',³ 'a throng in ungreek array in a riot of barbarian robes and diadems',⁴ whom Pelasgus compares to Libyans, Egyptians, Cyprians, Indians, Ethiopians, and Amazons.⁵ The scene must have been a mass of dark faces, colour, and foreign robes.

Besides decorative colour, elegance and elaboration of form distinguish ripe archaic art. Athenian vases are at no time more elegant and precise. At the beginning of the period the clear-cut neck amphora is the dominant shape, and even heavy shapes like the stamnos become light and graceful. Only in the eighties of the fifth century do heavier and more massive forms become popular, as they had been eighty years earlier.⁶ We can see the same precision and the same movement from daintiness to richness in the drapery of sculpture and vases. After the time of the Andocides painter most vase-painters are more interested in the folds of the drapery than the patterns. The

¹ Beazley, *C.V.A. Oxford*, pl. I. 5, and text; Payne, *op. cit.* 52; Winter, 215, fig. 4.

² Actually produced 476 B.C., four years after the close of this period.

³ *Suppl.* 154.

⁴ *Ibid.* 234, reading ἀμυγκώμασιν.

⁵ *Ibid.* 279.

⁶ Cf. Langlotz, *op. cit.* 16 f.

zigzag folds of chiton and himation as they fall in rippling cascades make a beautiful formal pattern, which is at its best in the Dionysiac scene by Phintias,¹ a painter who is spiritual brother to the sculptor of Schrader's kore.² Faced with the nude male body, the artist finds in the muscles, particularly of the abdomen, possibilities of formal patterning scarcely inferior to those of feminine drapery. Phintias³ again provides the best examples in his nude athletes, which are the closest parallel in painting to the sculptured athletes in relief from the Themistoclean wall (Pl. 3*a*).⁴

Mannerism lies ahead of this formal and decorative movement; Schrader's kore with her tall thin figure and long neck is clearly far advanced on the way (cf. Pl. 1*b*).⁵ Several vase-painters also border on mannerism: the Berlin painter's Hermes is unnaturally tall and slim,⁶ and Duris,⁷ particularly in his earlier period, drew long, thin figures, a breed, one would say, that had outgrown its strength in pursuit of elegance.

Two German scholars have already pointed out that an analogy can be drawn between the decorative elegance and mannerism of ripe archaic art and contemporary tendencies in poetry. Von Salis,⁸ writing on archaic art in general, says that 'the representation is made by formal turns as in the epic with its ready-made epithets and similes'. Fränkel⁹ comments on Anacreon thus: 'However significant and appropriate the adjectives are, yet the regularity of their occurrence has something of the slick elegance of contemporary island-ionic sculpture.' I should be inclined to substitute Athenian for island-ionic, since

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 381.

² Winter, 216, fig. 4.

³ Pfuhl, figs. 382-3.

⁴ *J.H.S.* 1922, pl. vii; cf. Winter, 217, figs. 6-7 (Athenian treasury).

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 3 (Kore, no. 674); cf. 224, fig. 2 (Athena from W. pediment at Aegina).

⁶ Pfuhl, fig. 473.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 463.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 53.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 85.

the precise elegance to which Fränkel refers belongs rather to Athenian sculpture, and much of our Anacreon was written in Athens for Athenian ears.

One of the poems¹ on which Fränkel is commenting runs as follows:

Gold-haired Love has hit me again
with purple ball, and bids me play
with the girl of the coloured shoes;
but she (her home is the lovely town
of Lesbos) mocks at my hair (it is white)
and gapes at another hue.

Every adjective is right; four of them are adjectives of colour, and add to the pictorial quality of the scene; only 'lovely', applied to Lesbos, can be called a standing epithet. Yet the regular apportionment of an adjective to each noun shows that the poet is writing in a style. As Bowra says of another poem by Anacreon,² 'the old fire and honesty are still here, but they are kept well under control by the poet'. The recurrent adjectives are not a mannerism, but they are conscious and ordered decoration, whereas Ibycus' love poetry for all its obvious decorative quality is nearer to a free outpouring of emotion.

The origin of the style lies in hexameter poetry. The court poets of the second half of the sixth century abandon the simpler and more direct style of the immediately preceding generations and revive, often in other media, the Homeric manner. The revival is all the easier because the Homeric manner is not dead; epics are still being written, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are recited at the Panathenaea and no doubt at other festivals in other Greek states. Therefore, when the western philosopher Parmenides writes his philosophy in the eighties of the fifth century, although his thought is new and needs periodic prose for adequate expression, he is limited to the style to

¹ Anacreon, 5.

² Op. cit. 287.

which his audience is accustomed. He builds a narrative in the epic manner, as the following specimen¹ will show:

'There are the gates of the paths of night and day, and they have lintel and stone threshold above and below. They, the heavenly gates, are filled with mighty doors. Of them executioner Justice holds the alternate keys. Her the maidens bespoke with soft words and skilfully persuaded to thrust the bolted bar swiftly from the gates. They, flying wide, made a yawning gap, twisting on either side the bronze pins in the sockets, where they were fastened with bolts and nails. There through them down the road the maidens drove chariot and horses.'

A similar epic style with decorative epithets and detailed description is used by Aeschylus when Danaus tells the Suppliants of the arrival of Pelasgus;² 'I see dust, dumb messenger of an army. Axles are not silent, whirling in their bearings. A host with shields and spears I behold, with horses and wheeled chariots.' The tragic poet, like the philosopher, uses the accepted style and has not yet developed even in iambics a purely 'dramatic' manner.

One of the hexameter hymns which can confidently be attributed to this period³ begins, 'I sing of Artemis, gold-spindled, loud-voiced, virgin, chaste, huntress, archer, sister of Apollo of the golden sword.' The piling of epithets, which is characteristic of the hexameter hymn, remains as part of the decoration of the choral lyric where men instead of gods become the poet's subjects. Thus in Ibycus' poem to Polycrates⁴ Troy is described as the 'great, famous, prosperous town of Priam son of Dardanus'. From Ionia the habit of piling epithets, which continues in Simonides⁵ and later most noticeably in Bacchylides,⁶ passes to Athens and the lyric of tragedy; Phrynichus,⁷ who, as has been said, is more Ionian in style than

¹ 1. 11 f.; cf. Fränkel, *op. cit.* 95.

² *Suppl.* 180; cf. 715 f.

³ Hymn xxvii; Wade-Gery, *op. cit.* 71.

⁴ Ibycus, 3.

⁵ 30.

⁶ xiii. 50.

⁷ 6; cf. 2.

Aeschylus, speaks of Althaea as 'dread, evil-contriving mother'.

While adjectives colour the diction of poetry, their regular recurrence shapes its flow. Ripe archaic poetry like ripe archaic art is elegant and formal. The painter uses regular systems of folds: the poet shapes his sentences by such devices as anaphora and triad grouping. Anaphora (the repetition of a word in the same or similar form at the beginning of successive clauses) is particularly effective in the short lines of Anacreon; he describes Artemon as '*often* setting his neck on the beam, *often* on the wheel, *often* having his back flogged by leathern thong and his hair and beard plucked.'¹ Another formal device is the enumeration of things or qualities in threes; in Xenophanes' banquet we find successively 'floor, hands, and cups . . . cold, sweet, and clean; loaves, cheese, and honey . . . Giants, Titans, and Centaurs'.²

One of the turning-points in the *Suppliants* is Pelasgus' decision to shield the daughters of Danaus. Aeschylus makes the scene a formal lyric dialogue;³ the chorus sing three pairs of strophe and antistrophe, and Pelasgus follows each strophe and each antistrophe except the last with five lines of iambics; after the last antistrophe Pelasgus speaks ten iambic lines, the chorus sing two pairs of strophe and antistrophe, and Pelasgus announces his decision in a final iambic speech. It is a moment of supreme importance and Aeschylus emphasizes the importance by choosing an elaborate archaic form, based on some sacred ritual.

In most ripe archaic poems the decorative and formal style remains a style and does not degenerate into a manner. Aeschylus, as we shall see, even makes it the

¹ 54. 7.

² 1; *Hermes* 1936, 272. Anacreon and Simonides also group things in threes.

³ *Suppl.* 348 f.; cf. 205 f.; 732 f.

basis on which to develop a new strong style. But the style of the choral lyric may easily become a manner. The recurring epithets may be standing epithets and add no new touch of colour or quality to the scene. The Polycrates poem of Ibycus¹ is mannered; Helen there is called 'golden', because the style demands that she should have an adjective and Homer calls her golden. Pindar himself does not always escape this charge. When he calls his voice 'famous', Aphrodite 'rolling eyed', and Mnemosyne 'bright crowned',² the adjectives are traditional and decorative. But the most mannered of the lyric poets is Bacchylides. In his eleventh ode the Styx has deep tresses, Hera a purple girdle, Leto a crimson veil; the sun is swift-horsed, Artemis has the best of fathers, and the daughters of Proteus are bud-crowned. The adjectives are all well worn and add nothing to the scene; but they give the diction a rich formality, which justifies Pindar's description of the Muse³ 'joining gold and white ivory in one and the lily stolen from the Ocean's dew'.

Pindar compares his art to the craft of a jeweller. The jeweller's work is fine, precise, and elaborate, and these are the qualities of the court style. Therefore the court poet's methods of composition are essentially different from those of the sensuous poet, who aims at smooth and flowing movement. The metrical structure of the lyric poem now becomes an aid to definition and precision, and sense and rhythm are made to coincide. In Anacreon's poem to the girl of the coloured shoes⁴ the first verse is devoted to Anacreon, the second to the girl. At this period Pindar and Bacchylides do not allow overlap of sense from triad to triad in their victor odes (the two exceptions in Pindar belong to the years shortly before 480 B.C.). In the *Suppliants* the sense never runs over from

¹ 3. ² P. x. 6; vi. 1; N. vii. 15; cf. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, 8.

³ Pindar, N. vii. 77.

⁴ Anacreon, 5.

system to system, and only once runs from strophe to antistrophe.¹

Just as the division between verse and verse is marked by a break in sense, so the transition from section to section is emphasized, and the poem becomes a series of carefully framed pictures instead of a continuous forward movement. In Bacchylides particularly the independence of the parts is noticeable.² The transitions³ from section to section are managed in various ways, all designed to call the listener's attention to the fact that a new subject is being introduced. Commonly the poet moulds the concluding sentence of one section so that the new section can be connected by a relative pronoun; thus in the tenth *Pythian*⁴ Pindar, having defined the limits of human endeavour and wishing to describe the life of the Hyperboreans, concludes his section: 'By sea nor land would you find the wonderful road to the company of the Hyperboreans, *with whom* Lord Perseus once feasted'—and then follows the description. Or instead of inserting a word from the new subject at the end of the old, he may carry a word of the old subject over into the new; in the twelfth *Pythian*⁵ he passes from the story of the invention of a particular musical mode to its use thus: 'the goddess *discovered* it but, having *discovered* it as a possession for mortals, she named it. . . .'

A third form of transition, antithesis, is part of the Homeric heritage. Homer frequently marks the passage from one section of his narrative to another by ending one

¹ *Suppl.* 582; here a new idea which leads on to the next theme is hung on to the end of the preceding sentence.

² e.g. the simile, xiii. 124–32. For the elaboration and independence of the parts of the *Suppliants*, cf. Snell, *Aischylos*, 68.

³ Contrast the blurred transition in Pindar, *N.* vii. 10.

⁴ *P.* x. 31.

⁵ *P.* xii. 22; particularly common after a speech. The narrative continues: 'Having thus spoken he did so and so.'

section with a $\mu\epsilon\nu$ clause and beginning the next with a $\lambda\epsilon$ clause. In the *Suppliants*¹ Danaus rounds off the prayer of the chorus, saying: 'These prudent prayers ($\mu\epsilon\nu$) I commend', and then introduces his new subject, 'but do you ($\lambda\epsilon$) not be afraid when you hear these new and unexpected words from your father.'

When Bacchylides² digresses from the story of Proetus' daughters to tell of the foundation of Tiryns, he marks the beginning and end of the digression with great care. 'They fled to the leafy mountain with terrifying cries, leaving the town of Tiryns and its god-built ways! For now for ten years since leaving favoured Argos the fearless bronze-clad heroes dwelt there . . . (the story of the foundation of Tiryns follows) . . . 78, and the strong Cyclopes built a fine wall for the famous city, where the far-famed heroes dwelt leaving horse-rearing Argos! Whence speeding the daughters of Proetus fled, dark-haired, untamed.' Beginning and end of digression echo one another (this is the so-called ring form, common in archaic digressions),³ but in addition the sentence before the digression is echoed by the sentence after the digression. The limits of the digression are clearly and precisely defined.

In art, as in literature, the flowing movement of compositions in the sensuous style gives place to clear-cut definition. We have spoken of the formal and precise beauty in the regular folds of Schrader's kore and the musculature of the male figures of Phintias. The single figure in painting or sculpture is an aggregate of well-defined parts. Head rests on body and body on legs, but otherwise they are unaffected by each other. In painting and relief head is normally profile, body frontal, and legs profile; in sculpture the plane bisecting head and body is neither turned nor bent. This archaic convention, which

¹ *Suppl.* 710; cf. 376, 504.

² Bacchylides, xi. 55-63, 79-84.

³ Cf. Pindar, *P.* xii. 8-22; Aesch. *Suppl.* 407-17.



a Athletes Relief from Themistoclean wall



b Luthymides Departure of Hector

originated in the desire to give the essential view of the various parts of the figure, remains as a method of making the parts definite and separate.¹

Similarly, in compositions of more than one figure, both in painting² and in sculpture (Pl. 3a),³ the figures are carefully separated from one another and the details are clear and precise; the whole is an elaborate structure of definite parts. The Chalcidian Phineus cup,⁴ painted in the twenties of the sixth century, is a good example; most of the figures stand clear-cut against the background, and the Dionysiac scene is separated from the Phineus scene by the landscape decoration at either end. Other painters mark the transition from scene to scene within the picture by linking elements, which perform the same function as the Homeric transition in literature. Euphronius' Geryonomachy (Pl. 7a)⁵ consists of three groups, to the left Eurytion and the supporters of Heracles, in the centre Heracles and the two bodies of Geryon which are still fighting, to the right the third, falling body of Geryon and Geryon's supporter; the three groups make a unity because Heracles belongs compositionally both to the centre and to the left, and the fighting bodies of Geryon both to the centre and to the right. These connecting figures form just such a link as the μέν-δέ formula used by the poets.

For composition on a large scale both in literature and art two schemes are particularly popular, the 'uneven' and the symmetrical. Neither is confined to the court style (they may even be the underlying structure of works in the sensuous style), but both flourish now because they are

¹ Cf. Curtius, *Antike Kunst*, 184-7.

² Pfuhl, fig. 264 (Menon ptr.); fig. 381 (Phintias); fig. 424 (Brygos ptr.).

³ *J.H.S.* 1922, pl. vii (reliefs from Themistoclean wall); Winter, 222, fig. 1 (W. pediment of Aegina).

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 164.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 391; cf. figs. 419, 422 (Brygos ptr.).

precise and elaborate. Xenophanes' condemnation of athletes¹ is an example of uneven composition. It falls into two uneven sections of fourteen and eight lines. In the longer section the poet says that athletes are honoured and poets not, in the shorter that athletes do no real good to the city. The first section divides again into ten and four lines, and the second into five and three. Thus the whole poem is constructed on the proportions (10+4) (5+3), and the two main sections are held together by the echo of the first five lines in the first three lines of the second part, and of the third line by the twenty-first.

'But if by *speed of foot* a man wins a victory or in the *pentathlon*, where the precinct of Zeus lies beside the *streams of Pisa* in Olympia, or *wrestling* or in painful *boxing* or in a terrible contest, which they call the pankration, he would have more honour and respect among his people and would win a front seat at the contests, and his food would come from the public possessions of the city and a gift which would be a treasure for him. And if with horses, he would win all these things, | not being so worthy as I. For better than the strength of men and horses is our wisdom. This is a thoughtless custom, and it is wrong to prefer strength to noble wisdom. || For not if there be a good *boxer* among the people, nor a *pentathlete* nor a *wrestler* nor if one with *swiftness of feet*, which is most honoured among all the deeds of strength that men perform in contest, not therefore would the city be in better order. | But it would be small joy to the city if a man win in the contest by the *banks of Pisa*. That does not fatten the stores of the city.'

The *Suppliants* of Aeschylus is a much larger composition of the same type. The first two-thirds of the play are concerned with the establishment of the Suppliants and the last third with the Egyptian attack and repulse. The first part is rounded off with the choral prayer for blessings on Argos² which is planned to correspond to the opening

¹ Xenophanes, 2; cf. Anacreon, 54, divided at 9, subdivided at 6; Theognis, 237 f. (2+4. 4+2. 4.. 2).

² *Suppl.* 625-709.

prayer which the chorus sing when they first enter the orchestra.

The two main divisions of the composition are unequal, and the larger of the two may be itself subdivided unequally, but in any case has some definite shape. Artists compose on the same principle (Pl. 2).¹ The internal frieze of the Phineus cup² has two scenes, the longer Phineus scene and the shorter Dionysus picture, marked off by chequers on one side and ivy on the other. The Phineus scene consists of two unequal parts, the pursuit of the Harpies and the smaller picture of Phineus himself, framed and divided from the other by figures of the Hours. The other scene also consists of two unequal parts, the smaller containing the three nymphs, the larger Dionysus' chariot and the satyrs, divided from each other by the palm-tree. The whole can be reduced to a schematic notation with a letter for each kind of figure or landscape element; the scene then reads: 2a.2b.c'c.D.c''e.f.2f.e'2g. H.g.; a-c and 2g-H-g are the long scenes. A later and simpler example is the symposium by the Brygos painter.³ Two boys, three older men, and two flute girls are walking along; they are divided into a longer group of four and a shorter group of three. In the centre of the four group a bearded man is seizing a girl, the outside figures are boys; the three group has a girl in the centre and a bearded man on each side. The whole group then is—a.bc.a'b.c.b, and each of the subgroups has the ring form.

The other principle of composition which is commonly used for a whole poem or a whole picture is symmetrical balance of the halves usually about a marked centre-piece. The victor ode is constructed with the myth as a centre-piece; in the parts before and after the myth victor,

¹ Caeretan; Pfuhl, figs. 152-4. Athenian; Pfuhl, figs. 318 (Menon ptr.), 382 (Phintias), 395 (Euphronius).

² Pfuhl, fig. 164.

³ Ibid., fig. 423; cf. fig. 422.

victory, and festival are mentioned. In the sixth *Pythian*¹ Pindar starts with the victory, the ode and Thrasybulus, passes to the moral (devotion to parents), and so to the myth of Antilochus which forms the centre of the poem. He ends the myth with a repetition of the moral, and then returns to Thrasybulus and his victory. Similarly, the great prayer at the beginning of the *Suppliants*² is composed symmetrically about the hymn to Zeus which occupies the central pair of strophe and antistrophe. The prayers and lamentations of the Danaids, which come before and after the hymn, have each their own quieter centre-piece in the simile of the nightingale and the account of the voyage.

The battle scene of the East frieze of the Siphnian treasury³ is a perfect example of formal symmetry. The central fight of four warriors over the body of Antilochus is flanked on either side by a chariot with a charioteer behind and a groom in front of the four horses, so that the whole contains seventeen figures in perfect correspondence—a.4b.c.2d.e.2d.c.4b.a. A similar exact and careful symmetry governs the composition of the Aeginetan pediments⁴ and many Athenian vases.⁵

The formal pattern of the picture leads the artist to disregard the spatial relations of the component figures. In the Theseus under the Sea by the Panaitios painter⁶ Theseus, who stands on the hands of a small Triton, is given a wreath by Amphitrite, who is seated on the right; their hands meet in front of Athena, who stands approving in the background. But, because she is the centre of the picture, she is drawn in front of the Triton who supports Theseus, thus making a quite admirable pattern but an

¹ *P. vi.* Transitions at 19, 28, 40, 44.

² Centre-piece, 86–111; subsidiary centres, 58–67, 134–140; cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 161.

³ Winter, 210, fig. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 222, figs. 1–2.

⁵ Pfuhl, figs. 264 (Menon ptr.), 381 (Phintias).

⁶ Pfuhl, fig. 398.

impossible arrangement in space. And yet the direct observation which lies at the base of the later technique of perspective and shading can be traced back to the third quarter of the sixth century: Euphronius¹ can draw a woman's head in full face instead of profile and an archer's leg in back view instead of profile. But such isolated recording of direct observation instead of conventional representation is not at this time allowed to disturb the formal pattern of the whole.

Like his painter colleague, the ripe archaic poet works in a formal tradition. Short paratactic sentences, each stating a single fact, and connected by simple particles, are part of the Homeric legacy inherited by poets and prose-writers alike.² In poetry the form of the verse is a strong preservative influence; as Lucretius shows, a periodic style does not go easily into verse. Anacreon's prayer to Dionysus³ is a simple example of this formalization. If the thought relations were expressed, the prayer might run thus: 'I beg you to come in kindliness and listen to my prayer that you may advise Cleobulus to accept my love.' Anacreon actually says: 'I beseech you, and do you come in kindliness to us, and listen to our auspicious prayer, and to Cleobulus be a good counsellor, and let him accept my love.' Instead of a single period he writes five short sentences connected by 'and', each containing a single point. Bacchylides, though he often writes like Anacreon, occasionally uses the new technique of the periodic sentence,⁴ but his periods are loosely constructed; each part is a whole in itself and except that the parts are connected by conjunctions instead of particles there is little to distinguish his periods from his unperiodic

¹ Pfuhl, figs. 394, 395; cf. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythi*, 44 f.

² Cf. the artless and unannounced change from *Oratio obliqua* to *recta* in Hecataeus, 30, with Bacchylides, xi. 104. See also on the artless style above, p. 11.

³ 2. 6 f.

⁴ Bacchylides, xiii. 100; xi. 95.

writing. The new technique is subservient to the old form.

Precision and elegance of form are everything in the court style. Art and poetry alike must be neat and patterned; drapery falls in echoing folds and muscles are decoratively rounded; the poem is composed on an elaborate scheme of clearly defined sections. Sophistication and formality differentiate the court style from the sensuous style; they share the enjoyment of bright colours and beautiful forms. Ibycus stands in the same relation to Anacreon as the Rhodian terra-cotta ladies to Schrader's kore. The sensuous style can be realistic: the court style must be formal.

THE REACTION

The Ionian manner of thought and the Ionian style begin first to change and then to disappear during these fifty years, and particularly during the last twenty. Several causes brought about the disruption. In the first place, the failure of the Ionian cities to stand against Persia led some to scorn Ionian luxury and demand a simpler and more austere way of life. Moreover, the part played by Sparta both in helping the exiles on their journey westward and then in the Persian Wars brought the Dorian ideal of discipline into the limelight. In Athens, where democracy had replaced tyranny, and the citizen therefore became a free and responsible individual, a simpler and more moral art was required than the art of the tyrant's court. In addition, the noble families, who held the Dorian ideal and now had to fight for their supremacy whether against tyranny or as members of a democracy, became more articulate, so that the poetry of Pindar and Theognis can be called by Jaeger 'the codification of the aristocratic education'.¹

¹ *Paideia*, 259.

The Dorian ideal may be summed up in three Greek words—*physis* (breed), *eusebia* (piety), and *sophrosyne* (modesty). *Physis*, which means breed, inborn genius, and inherited standards of conduct, will occupy us later: at this time Theognis pleads that as much care should be taken in breeding men as in breeding animals.¹ In his earliest ode, written in 496, Pindar warns the victor that he cannot 'climb bronzen heaven',² which is a poetic admonition to *sophrosyne* and observation of the limits which bound human endeavour. Pindar's piety has passed beyond the formal correctness of much Ionian poetry to a high moral conception which makes him suppress the cruder stories about the gods and heroes. He refuses to tell of the murder of Phocus:³ 'I am ashamed to tell of mighty, unrighteous daring, how they left the famous island and what force drove the heroes from Oenone. Not every truth should show its face unveiled. Silence is often the wisest resolve.' These sentiments are foretastes of the great moral odes which Pindar wrote in the second quarter of the century.

But, before the Dorian Pindar and Theognis began to write, the Ionians had been criticizing themselves. Pythagoras, who left Ionia for the West in 532, in his school substituted asceticism for Ionian luxury, and an aristocracy of character for plutocracy.⁴ Xenophanes, who left Colophon in 545, is a clearer figure because considerable fragments of his writings survive. He writes, as we have seen, in the Ionian style, but his view of Ionian civilization is given in a fragment⁵ in which he describes the citizens of his native town: 'They learnt useless luxury from the Lydians, while they were without cruel tyranny, and went into the market-place in purple robes, not less than a thousand at a time, boastful, their hair beautifully curled, drenched in the scent of exquisite ointments.' He attacks

¹ Theognis, 183.

² *P.* x. 27.

³ *N.* v. 14.

⁴ Schmid-Stählin, i. 735.

⁵ 3.

their luxurious banquets, and deploras the honour they pay to athletes; 'for that does not fatten the stores of the city'. He says that men accept the traditional religion, heedless of the immorality of many stories about the gods, and never pressing beyond the external trappings of religion to the reality behind.¹ Heraclitus of Ephesus, who, unlike Pythagoras and Xenophanes, did not leave Ionia for the West, was like them in opposition to the typical Ionian views of life. Like them he criticized the contemporary religion, and the attribution of divine knowledge to the poets. In one fragment he comes remarkably near to the Dorian ideal of Pindar (he was himself an aristocrat): 'Modesty is the greatest virtue, and wisdom is to speak the truth and to act according to nature, listening to her.'² Here, too, nature, *physis*, is inherited character or breed. All three thinkers, though widely different, hate the softness, luxury, and formality of the Ionian civilization, and would put in its place something sterner, simpler, and deeper.

The Athenian contribution to the new ideal can be learnt from Simonides and Aeschylus. When Simonides was in Thessaly, after his first visit to Athens, he wrote a drinking-song,³ in which he declared the established ideal, 'a man in hands and feet and mind four-square, fashioned without a flaw', impossible of attainment, since its realization depended not on man but on the gods. 'I praise and love all, whoever of his *free will* does nothing base.' 'Enough for me the man who is not base nor too helpless, who knows justice which helps a city, a healthy man.' A comparison of parallels has led Bowra⁴ to suggest that the new emphasis on will as more important than acts and the new use of 'healthy' in an ethico-political sense are distinctively Athenian and belong to the rising democracy.

¹ Cf. I, 2, 11-16; see Frankel, *Hermes*, 1925, 183.

² 112; cf. 5, 40, 42, 104.

³ 4.

⁴ *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 340 f.



Cleophrades punter Sack of Troy

Aeschylus wrote the *Suppliants* about 480 B.C. His high mysticism and his theory of *hybris* are less prominent and all-pervading than in the later plays; but the Zeus of the two central systems of the opening chorus is the Zeus of the later Aeschylus:¹

It falleth firm, it slippeth not, whatso thought
In the brain of Zeus is formed; it is thought and deed.
Through tangled forest and shadow his paths are wrought,
Which none may trace or read.

From the high towers of hope on which they stand
He casts men down; they perish utterly.
Yet he takes no sword, he lifts no violent hand.
Effortless all must be
That is of God. All things
Whereon his thought may light
Moveless to pass he brings
There on the height.

Let him now look on this ungodliness
Of man; it groweth strong as a green tree
In hearts unchanging-hard, hot to possess
This loveless flesh of me.
In dreams infatuate
To its own wound it cleaves,
Till it learn, all too late,
That sin deceives.

The substitution of a high moral ideal for court manners changes the methods as well as the content of poetry and art, and a new style is needed to express the new thought. During the last twenty years of our period the new methods become increasingly apparent and by 480 the new style is fully established by the side of the old, although the old continues with scarcely diminished vigour, and much of the new work is done in old forms. The new style must be the creation of certain great

¹ *Suppl.* 91 f., tr. Murray.

personalities. Pindar and Aeschylus more than any one else are, to use the ancient term, its 'inventors' in literature; in art the reflection of the new style in its earlier stages can be seen most clearly in the vases of the Cleophrades painter.¹ Their work shows one direction which the revolt against the court style takes; the term 'strong style' is a useful description of an idiom which is dominant for the first half of the fifth century. In other works the old Ionian sensuous style is spiritualized; the beautiful forms and lines remain, but remain as an expression of the mind behind; this, which may be termed 'the simple style', comes to fruition in the classical period.

THE STRONG STYLE

In the strong style poet and artist use violence to impress their meaning on their audiences. The force of the presentation compels the spectator to believe in *eusebia* and *sophrosyne*; he is swept off his feet by a direct emotional appeal. To this end the court style is partly transformed and partly rejected, so that decoration, richness, elegance, and formality, in so far as they continue at all, continue in a different guise.

Decoration in court poetry often took the form of similes, but in the new style the decorative simile yields to the illuminating metaphor. In one instance a direct comparison can be made between Simonides² and Aeschylus.³ In a lament Simonides compares the transitoriness of human prosperity to the swift movements of the dragon-fly. 'Being mortal never say what happens to-morrow, nor seeing a man prosperous how long he will prosper. Even the changes of the long-winged fly are not so swift.' Aeschylus probably remembered this when he wrote in the

¹ Eumarus (or Eumares) of Athens and his successor Cimon of Cleonae were the leading painters (O. 377); the leading sculptor Ageladas of Argos. But nothing remains of their works.

² Simonides, 6.

³ *Suppl.* 328. See Schmid-Stählin, ii. 292 f., on the images of Aeschylus.

Suppliants: 'Lord of the Pelasgians, many-hued are human woes. Of pain you would nowhere see the same feather.' Simonides uses a simile and, however briefly, evokes a picture of the darting dragon-fly, which has a value of its own apart from what it illustrates. Aeschylus uses metaphor;¹ the transitoriness of human fortunes is expressed in terms of the many-coloured feathers of a bird's neck.

He introduces the metaphor for a moment to illuminate his point, and when he wants to illustrate several sides of the same thing, different images follow in swift succession; Pelasgus, trying to make up his mind, says:

Now, like a diver plunging to the deep,
I need some saving thought; I need to keep
A seeing eye, not wild or flushed with wine.²

Similarly, when Pindar writes: 'Stay the oar and swiftly drop the anchor from the prow to the bottom, a defence against the rocky reef',³ the picture has the single object of illustrating the speed of Pindar's song, the effort to stop its course, and his desire of passing to another subject. The image is not decoration but illustration determined by the theme. At the same time the pathetic fallacy can be seen in painting. When the Cleophrades painter draws a palm-tree in his Sack of Troy (Pl. 4),⁴ it is no loving, careful picture like the palm of the Phineus cup;⁵ its head is bowed and its foliage drooping to show that even wild nature felt the horror of that day.

Piled adjectives, which formed a mannered decoration in the poems of Ibycus and Bacchylides, are used by Aeschylus to lend a heavy magnificence to his diction. In the *Suppliants*⁶ Danaus is called 'this wise, faithful, old

¹ Contrast, however, *Suppl.* 351, where he uses a fully developed simile in the old manner.

² *Ibid.* 407, tr. Murray.

³ *P. x.* 51; cf. Fränkel on Heraclitus, *A.J.P.* 1938, 309, and Bowra on Parmenides, *Class. Phil.* 1937, 98.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 378.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 164.

⁶ *Suppl.* 176, 795.

man, your sea-faring father', and when the Danaids are considering suicide, they pray for a 'smooth, goat-abandoned, invisible, solitary, hanging, vulture-haunted crag'. In art also elegance yields to solidity and richness to magnificence. The robustness of form and heavy drapery of the Antenor kore¹ contrast with the elegance and delicacy of the contemporary Schrader's kore. The men painted by Euthymides (Pl. 3b)² and the Cleophrades painter are heavy, solid, and muscular; the women wear clothes with thick and ponderous folds. Magnificence is a term which can justifiably be applied to the rich armour, clothing, or furniture of some of the vases painted in the eighties of the fifth century (Pl. 4).³

While magnificence and solidity supplant decorative elegance, violent action takes the place of formal movement. Even Phrynichus,⁴ who is justifiably regarded as a representative of the rich Ionian style, compared his dances to waves on a wintry night, and from the wild prayers and lamentations of the Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*⁵ some picture can be formed of the passion of the accompanying dances. The artists also provide abundant examples, for instance the late black-figure picture of the sack of Troy, with chariots rushing from the gate, Priam crouching on the ground, and Neoptolemus dashing Astyanax to death,⁶ and in red figure the whirling maenads of Macron, and the stormy figures of the Cleophrades painter's Sack of Troy (Pl. 4).⁷

Moreover, where former artists had represented the

¹ Winter, 213, fig. 5 (Payne, op. cit. 31); cf. Winter, 215, figs. 5-6 (Kore no. 684).

² Pfuhl, figs. 364-9 (Euthymides); Pfuhl, figs. 372-80 (Cleophrades ptr.).

³ Pfuhl, fig. 378 (Cleophrades ptr.); Pfuhl, fig. 429 (Brygos ptr.).

⁴ Phrynichus, 1 (Diehl); cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1524.

⁵ *Suppl.* 112, 825.

⁶ *Greece and Rome*, 1, pl. ix.

⁷ Pfuhl, figs. 438, 378.

passive helplessness of fallen figures, artists now delight in their active agony. The dying warrior of the East pediment of Aegina¹ writhes in anguish and his teeth are clenched in pain. The man who has fallen at Priam's feet in the Cleophrades painter's Sack of Troy² lies on his side, one arm across his body, the other hand clutching the grip of his shield, his face towards the ground with the hair falling outwards beyond his head, and both legs bent backwards below the knees. The intense agony of these later figures distorts the whole body and is reflected in the face.³ It is a mental as well as a physical anguish.

The strength and violence of the new style alter the form of poetry and art. The flow can no longer be restrained by the nice and sophisticated formulae of ripe archaic composition. In the seventh and second *Nemean*⁴ Pindar in three places abandons the correspondence of sense and verse-ending, and the overlaps are clear and undoubtable. At the same time Melanippides of Melos freed the dithyramb from strophic correspondence by writing long anabolai, probably dramatic solos, in which emotion would have free expression.⁵

Pindar's swift sentences are with difficulty kept within the bounds imposed by the sophisticated style. Sometimes when their disorderly flow is checked and diverted in another direction, the turning-point is marked by elaborate images as in the example quoted above from the tenth *Pythian*;⁶ the transitions are barriers forcibly imposed upon the flood of words to divert them into another

¹ Winter, 223, fig. 5; cf. Pfuhl, fig. 419 (Brygos ptr.); contrast the formal pose of the earlier figure from the West pediment of Aegina (Winter, 223, fig. 2); cf. Haspels, op. cit. 47.

² Pfuhl, fig. 378.

³ On late archaic gesture see Curtius, *Antike Kunst*, 307.

⁴ *N.* vii. 84; ii. 10, 20. Both odes were written in the eighties.

⁵ Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. 55.

⁶ e.g. *P.* x. 51 (quoted above, p. 35).

channel. He often wilfully breaks the symmetrical form of a sentence and expresses parallel ideas by different turns of phrase.¹ He puts complicated thought into paratactic sentences, leaving the spectator to make sense out of his distortions.² In particular, he often uses an image without any indication that it is an image; when he has said that Timodamus should win further victories at the Isthmian and Pythian games,³ he continues, 'And it is natural for Orion to walk not far from the Pleiades'; he means that the succession of Timodamus' victories is as certain as the movements of the stars. When Pindar announces his philosophy, his staccato has a solemn and prophetic quality. 'By nature we differ in the life we have won, this man these gifts, others those. For one to carry off all happiness is impossible. I cannot say to whom fate has offered this as a sure end.'⁴ The violent style arrests the attention of the audience, and can therefore equally well convey the exciting narrative of Pindar, the dark thought of Heraclitus, the political fears of Theognis, the wild emotions of Aeschylus' Danaids, or the exaltation of Simonides when he laments the dead at Thermopylae.⁵

In painting also the formulae of the sophisticated style cannot express the movement and passion of the new art. In many pictures a rush of figures is divided at certain points by strongly marked arrests; for instance,⁶ in the black-figured Sack of Troy the general movement surges towards the right end, but is checked in the middle by the motionless figure of Athena looking left. And where the figures stand out against the surrounding background, they no longer form a pattern of similar figures with simi-

¹ *P. x. 23*; cf. Aesch. *Suppl. 6*.

² Pindar, *N. vii. 17*.

³ Pindar, *N. ii. 10*; cf. *N. v. 20*; Aesch. *Suppl. 443*; Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, 97.

⁴ Pindar, *N. vii. 54*.

⁵ Pindar, *P. vi. 32*; Heraclitus, *10, 62*; Theognis, *673*; Aesch. *Suppl. 784*; Simonides, *5*.

⁶ *Greece and Rome*, i, pl. ix, p. 139.

larly decorative drapery or anatomy, but a contrast of divergent individualities. Euthymides' Departure of Hector (Pl. 3*b*)¹ is based on the common *a.b.a* scheme,² but because he does not try to make the flanking figures correspond, he has achieved a real contrast between the old father giving advice and the proud mother arming her son. At the same time the painter attains a manner approximating to the staccato style in literature by the violence of his distortions, which are no longer subordinated to the dominant pattern.³ Look, for instance, at the drawing of Neoptolemus' right leg in the Cleophrades painter's Sack of Troy (Pl. 4),⁴ and the left leg and foot of the kneeling warrior to his right.

THE SIMPLE STYLE

While violence and distortion are the chief characteristics of the strong style, simplicity distinguishes another style, which is also a reaction from sophisticated formality but possesses something of the sweetness of the sensuous style. Two works from Athens, the Euthydicus kore and the Blond Boy (Pl. 5),⁵ both dated to a little before 480, illustrate the simple style. These simple figures bear the same relation to Schrader's kore as the now canonical Dorian architecture of the temple at Aegina to the Ionic elaboration of the Siphnian treasury. Payne⁶ thus sums up his description of the Euthydicus kore: 'The face has a seriousness, a kind of stolid reticence, which suits the dislike of ostentation, even of the slightest reminiscence of archaic gaiety, which we have already noticed in the treatment of the figure.' The Berlin painter, who is nearer in

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 364.

² Contrast *ibid.*, figs. 313 (Andocides ptr.), 381 (Phintias).

³ See above, p. 29.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 378.

⁵ Winter, 218, figs. 5-6; 219, figs. 3-5. Contrast *ibid.* 216, fig. 4 (Schrader's kore).

⁶ *Op. cit.* 41.

spirit to this sculptor than any other vase-painter, often rejects the many-figured composition and sets a single figure simply and clearly against the black background of the vase, binding the two sides together by unity of subject: he puts Perseus one side and Medusa the other, and the singer one side and his trainer the other.¹

The Blond Boy, carved perhaps by the same sculptor as the Euthydicus kore, shows the same simplicity, and with it a new kind of composition. The set of the neck and a fragment of the body show that he was standing with more weight on one leg than the other. Like the Critian boy,² he had one hip higher than the other, and one leg stiff and the other bent, so that the movement of the whole was organized from a central point. Till this time bodies had always rested evenly on both legs, but now the figure is an organic whole; one part affects another, and the archaic conventions have been thrown to the winds.³

The earliest painted figure which is comparable with the Critian boy is the Hector of Euthymides (Pl. 3*b*).⁴ 'The lines that enclose the eye are open at the far end, the pupil is nearer the front, the head is sunk on the right shoulder, one foot is seen in profile, the other in full face, the knee above the profile foot is bent, the folds of the chiton are quite simple. What has happened? The boy has become a unity: he can no longer be expressed by formulae, smiling face, anatomical body, legs at attention or marching.' Now that the painter can represent the figure as an organic whole, it is certain that he will not remain satisfied with distortions like the back view in the Sack of Troy,⁵ but will proceed to shading and perspective, which are in fact beginning to appear at the end of our period (Pl. 4).⁶

Organic composition is also applicable to large scenes or

¹ Beazley, *Berlinermaler*, I.

² Winter, 219, fig. 1.

³ See above, p. 24.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 364.

⁵ Ibid., fig. 378.

⁶ Ibid., fig. 378, shields; fig. 374, rocks.



Entlüftungskore



to smaller pictures of single figures in motion. The East pediment of Aegina as reconstructed by Furtwängler¹ makes a complete contrast with the West. Whereas in the West pediment the groups are separate and distinct, in the East a line of force binds the whole composition together, 'running up the body of the fallen man on the right side of the pediment, down the body and leg of Heracles, up the squire again, down his master, echoed in his master's opponent, and finally brought to rest in the spear of Athena; if more figures were preserved, we could no doubt trace a similar course to the end in the corner.' The straight lines rebounding from the straight sides of the pediment together form a line of force on which the whole is built. The Panaitios painter's Boy chasing Hare² is one of many pictures of this period where the same principle is applied to a smaller composition; the lines of force are curved so that they may bear some relation to the circular frame.

Yet another difference distinguishes Euthymides' Hector and the Blond Boy from their predecessors. Their pose is not dictated by court manners, but by their own free choice, and the fixed smile of etiquette is replaced by the pensive calm of the thinking man. Simonides' poem³ shows that motives are beginning to count far more than acts; and his ethical ideal is illustrated by these figures. If the motive is more important than the act, mind is more interesting than body or clothes, and acts must display the character of the agent. The beginnings of dramatic characterization lie in the ripe archaic period. In later tragedy two types of scene are commonly used to display character—scenes of persuasion and scenes where the hero is contrasted with another character; both are found in the *Suppliants*. Although the characters have little depth,

¹ Winter, 222, fig. 2; *J.H.S.* 1931, 181.

² Pfuhl, fig. 413.

³ Simonides, 4.

and Aeschylus is still dominated by the influence of narrative epic and formal lyric, Pelasgus' decision to help the suppliants,¹ which is taken in an extremely formal lyric dialogue, nevertheless represents a change of purpose in an important character, and at the end of the play,² where the chorus of handmaidens criticize the one-sided view of the Danaids, again in a lyric dialogue, two types of character are contrasted. Simple contrasts of this kind are drawn by contemporary vase-painters; Euphronius' Heracles³ is a small, beautifully trained, and beautifully kempt Greek, his Antaeus an enormous, ill-groomed giant, and he contrasts the *sophrosyne* of the one with the *hybris* of the other; the Cleophrades painter in his great Dionysiac picture contrasts the dreamy rapture of the fair maenad with the wild ecstasy of the dark maenad.⁴ It is therefore justifiable to trace ultimately to the ripe archaic period the fully developed character-drawing of the later fifth century.

CONCLUSION

The sensuous and sophisticated styles may be traced to two different sides of the Greek genius, enjoyment of life and curiosity. The love-poems of Ibycus, which have a warmth of feeling and an appreciation of natural beauty paralleled in Keats and Shelley, and the sculptured ladies with their 'sleepy' eyes, subtle mouths, and flowing lines show the sensuous style at its height, the style of Polycrates' court; meanwhile the same power to feel and describe produces the satire of Hipponax, and the fallen giant of the Siphnian frieze. The style is continued to the end of the period by writers and artists in Ionia, Athens, and the West.

Ionian learnedness produces another style, decorative, often mannered, and always precise. The colour, elabora-

¹ *Suppl.* 348 f.; see Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 204.

² *Suppl.* 1018 f.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 392.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 380.

tion, and definition of Schrader's kore, the conscious artistry of Anacreon's short poems, the learned detail of the Busiris hydria, and the conscious symmetry of the West pediment of Aegina are typical of the sophisticated style, which flourished particularly under the Pisistratids at Athens. This style also continues beyond the end of the century, and the earliest works of Pindar and Aeschylus are largely cast in its forms.

The reaction against the Ionian civilization gives rise to two new styles, the strong style and the simple style. The strong style is the antithesis of the sophisticated style. Striking metaphor replaces decorative imagery, and heavy magnificence succeeds decorative elegance. Violence, distortion, and staccato appear both in literature and in art. Of all the works of literature and art which survive from this period perhaps the Sack of Troy by the Cleophrades painter shows the new tendencies most clearly.

The simple style grows out of the older sensuous style, but grows in a new direction. The old powers of observation and description are still there, but they are controlled by the new impatience with luxury and excess and the new interest in character and motives. Euthymides' Hector, the Blond Boy, and the Euthydicus kore embody the new spirit and illustrate the change from court manners to pensive simplicity. The emphasis on motive and character found in Simonides' poem to Scopas is the root of further development both in literature and in art.

In the fifty years of the ripe archaic period a great change has taken place. The luxury, softness, and cleverness of Ionian civilization have yielded to something simpler, stronger, and more moral. Undoubtedly the Dorian ideal is akin to the new ideal, and Dorian example partly accounts for the change, just as Dorian art and literature provided some of the models. But Ionians themselves led the revolt, and Ionian technical brilliance was necessary

to form the new style. Athens provided the soil in which the new plant could grow; its fruits are drama and three-dimensional sculpture and painting, which mature gradually during the fifth century. For the years after 480 the strong style holds the stage, depending for its effect on what the ancients described as shock tactics (*ekplexis*); such is the art of Pindar and Aeschylus and of the sculptors at Olympia.

II. EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

THE period in which the strong style dominates Greek literature and art is called 'early classical' to distinguish it from the classical period of Periclean Athens. It begins in 480 and may conveniently be regarded as ending in 445, since the great classical works begin a little later.

The political history of these thirty-five years, so far as it concerns our study, falls into two distinct parts, the history of Sicily and the history of Athens. Gelo's victory over the Carthaginians, said to have been fought on the same day as Salamis, gave Syracuse a place in the front rank of Greek states. Gelo and his successor Hiero set out to make their city a centre of culture by sending teams to compete in the Greek games and by attracting poets and artists to their court. Simonides went to Syracuse in 476, and it is extremely probable that both Pindar and Bacchylides paid personal visits to Hiero. Aeschylus undoubtedly accepted his invitation and wrote a play, *The Women of Aetna*, to celebrate the foundation of Hiero's new city; he visited Sicily again later and died at Gela in 456. We do not hear of any artists from the mainland going to Hiero's court, but the sculptors who worked in the neighbouring city of Selinus were certainly acquainted with the contemporary art of Athens.

After the death of Hiero a period of misrule was succeeded by a period of democracy in 465. This later phase of Sicilian life is not so interesting for its poetry as for its prose. With the removal of the tyrants many claims were made in the law-courts, and for the first time in Greek history skill in forensic argument became a matter of first-rate importance. To meet this need Corax compiled the

first *Art of Rhetoric*,¹ and later the Sicilian rhetoricians, partly through the Athenian colony of Thurii and partly through Sicilian ambassadors to Greece, influenced the prose-writing of Athens.

Athens itself at the beginning of the period was leagued with the Peloponnesian states against Persia. The Greek offensive continued at various places and times for the next thirty years, but the character of the Greek alliance changed fundamentally. The misconduct of the Spartan Pausanias caused the allies to transfer the leadership from Sparta to Athens, and in the hands of Athens the nature of the partnership changed during about fifteen years from a free alliance to an Athenian empire. Meanwhile, the plunder of the Persian wars and the tribute of the allies formed the economic basis for a change in the character of the Athenian state; more and more offices in the state were thrown open to every class of citizens, and the influence of the great families, who had held the power during the period of the Persian wars and before, decreased. The full effects of this change are not visible until the second half and particularly the last quarter of the century; but Aeschylus, whose democratic sympathies are apparent in his earliest plays, foresaw the dangers awaiting Athenian democracy, when he made the Eumenides say three years after the murder of Ephialtes and the ostracism of Cimon: 'Commend neither a life unrul'd nor life under a tyrant.'²

The three great leaders of the people during these thirty-five years were Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles. Ion of Chios, who lived in Athens at various times during the fifth century and knew personally the chief literary and political figures, has left portraits of all three.³ Themistocles, when asked to sing after dinner, replied that he

¹ Aristotle *ap. Cic. Brutus*, 46.

² Aesch. *Eum.* 526.

³ *Ap. Plut. Cim.* 9; *Per.* 5, 28.

had never learnt to sing or to play but had only learnt how to make a city rich and powerful; as he was the friend of Simonides,¹ and bore the expense of producing Phrynichus' *Phoenissae*,² it is likely that his taste was conservative. Cimon, according to Ion, had taste and culture and natural grace in society; he was the 'most hospitable of men'³ and readily received foreigners like Ion, the painter Polygnotus, and the philosopher Archelaus. Pericles, on the other hand, was more like Themistocles; his manner was arrogant and ill-bred; he was haughty and scornful of others, and just as something of Themistocles goes to make up the character of Aeschylus' *Prometheus*,⁴ something of both statesmen goes later into the Oedipus of Sophocles' *Tyrannus*.⁵

Cimon's love of Sparta, which strongly influenced his political conduct, was part of his admiration for the Dorian ideal of *eusebia*, *sophrosyne*, and *physis*. The chief literary exponents of this ideal were Pindar and Sophocles, to whom Cimon and his board of generals awarded the victory over Aeschylus in the tragic contest of 468. The same ideal inspired Athenian art with the result that, while Athenian sculpture was much influenced by Peloponnesian sculpture in the first half of the century, in the sixties the Peloponnesian sculptors of the temple of Zeus at Olympia were, in their turn, influenced by the paintings of Micon and Polygnotus in Athens.

But two well-known foreigners, who became leading figures in Periclean Athens, though great and inspired thinkers, were subversive of the existing religion and morality. Anaxagoras resided in Athens from 460, and

¹ Bowra, *op. cit.* 358.

² He was archon when the *Capture of Miletus* was produced in 492 (Schmid-Stählin, ii. 173).

³ Cratinus, fr. 1.

⁴ Nestle, *Menschliche Existenz in Aischylos*, 25.

⁵ Sheppard, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 140.

Protagoras visited Athens on his way to Thurii. The full effects of the advanced physical theories of the one and of the rhetorical discoveries of the other were not felt until the next period, but the seeds were already sown by 445. Another foreigner, the Samian painter Agatharchus, who painted scenery for the later plays of Aeschylus and therefore probably for the *Oresteia* and for the *Prometheus*, is the artistic counterpart of Anaxagoras and Protagoras; by inventing perspective he showed the way to illusionistic art, and thus became the first sophist in paint.

THE OLD STYLE

Three main tendencies can be observed in the art and literature of this period: the sensuous and sophisticated styles continue (it will be convenient to bracket them as the old style); the strong style reaches its full development, and the new classical style begins. The old style remains prevalent in the West, and partly for this reason Hiero preferred the Ionian Bacchylides to the Dorian Pindar. But because the main stream of literary and artistic development passes through Athens, the continuation of the old style there has greater importance, as not only providing material which can be transmuted into the strong style, but also preserving modes of regarding and expressing the outside world which poets and artists use again in the succeeding classical period.

Both the learned and the decorative elements in the old style survive into the fifth century. The Egyptians of the Pan painter's Busiris scene¹ are circumcised, a detail which occurs on no other representation but is confirmed by Herodotus, a learned detail added by a sophisticated painter. Aeschylus' interest in foreign customs and lands is displayed again in the *Persae* and *Prometheus*,² and in

¹ Beazley, *Panmaler*, 13, pl. 7 f.

² See above, p. 14; cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 83.



Zeus from Artemisium

Sophocles' first play *Demeter* described the lands in Italy, Africa, and the East which Triptolemus must visit to found agriculture. At the end of this period Cratinus produced his *Archilochi*,¹ which contained a contest between Archilochus and Homer; the play is an ancestor of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and the audience already appreciated parodies of the poets. Thus Athenian curiosity was ready to listen to the sages and sophists when they came.

While the custom of wearing foreign dress as uniform cannot be traced after the Persian wars, its decorative value was still felt by the tragedians; Sophocles, as well as Aeschylus,² made his tragedies colourful by dressing his choruses as Thracians, Scythians, or Trojans; and in the single surviving play from his first period the chorus of Greek sailors in their excitement at Ajax' repentance dance a Cretan dance.³

Stage machinery and mass groupings were employed to produce decorative spectacle: the *Eumenides*⁴ ends with a procession, when Athena sends the Furies to their new home escorted by a chorus of Athenians in red cloaks; and in the *Prometheus* the chorus arrive in a winged chariot and Oceanus on a four-legged bird. The descriptions, which form so large a part of early tragedy, are written in a decorative epic style; in the *Septem* the messenger describes the attack on the walls of Thebes:⁵ 'Near now the panoplied host of Argives hastes in clouds of dust, and gleaming foam from horses' lungs colours the plain.' Aeschylus elaborates the description by the adjectives 'panoplied' and 'gleaming', and by the rather pompous phrase 'horses' lungs'. He uses the same style in other

¹ See Whittaker, *C.Q.* 1935, 185; parody of Archilochus, 10.

² *Persae*, *Choephori*, *Phrygians*, &c.

³ *Aj.* 693 (Kranz, op. cit. 109). For foreign choruses see Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 172 f.

⁴ Cf. Wecklein on *Ag.* 782.

⁵ *Sept.* 59; see above, p. 20.

descriptive speeches such as the account of Salamis in the *Persae*.¹

Images and epithets form an important part of literary decoration. Bacchylides follows the ripe archaic tradition of decorative imagery, and in one of the odes to Hiero compares himself to an eagle:² 'Cleaving the deep air on high with swift brown wings, the eagle, messenger of loudly-thundering Zeus, glories in his confident strength, and the shrill-voiced birds cower in fear. The peaks of great earth do not hold him nor the tossing waves of the unwearying sea. He moves in the boundless emptiness, his fine plumage stirred by the Zephyr's breeze very clear for men to see.' The loving elaboration of the picture gives it a life and value of its own. In this the Western philosopher poet Empedocles is like Bacchylides. His similes, while admirably suited for their explanatory purpose, have besides a decorative merit; for instance, he illustrates his theory of vision by a picture of a man going out with a lantern.³ Such imagery is rare in Aeschylus and Pindar, but Sophocles continues the Ionian tradition and the *Ajax*⁴ has many pictorial similes and images.

Epithets also can be more decorative than significant. In Bacchylides' later odes every noun still has its adjective or string of adjectives; even in the narrative of Minos and Theseus⁵ some of the adjectives are formal, and in the fifth ode⁶ Artemis is 'bud-wreathed, holy, white-armed Artemis'. In Pindar decorative adjectives are not so common, and in Aeschylus they are rare. Sophocles in this, as in imagery, turns back to the older manner, and gives his audience something quieter and smoother than the

¹ *Pers.* 353 f.; cf. *Ag.* 650 (storm); Pindar, *P.* i. 19 (Aetna).

² Bacchylides, v. 16; cf. Schadewaldt, *Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*, 281, on the contrast with Pindar, *N.* iii. 80.

³ Empedocles, 84; cf. 23; 100.

⁴ *Aj.* 17; 986; 1253.

⁵ Bacchylides, xvii,

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 98.

glaring light and heavy splendour of Aeschylus. When in the *Ajax* he calls Troy 'broad-seated', Salamis 'famous', and Athens 'holy', and when he speaks of the 'Cyllenian, snow-smitten, rocky ridge,'¹ his writing is more like Bacchylides than Aeschylus.

Just as Hiero found the poetry of Bacchylides more congenial than the poetry of Pindar, so the formal draperies of the court style still find favour in the West till the middle of the fifth century.² Ionian draperies also survive in Athens in the works of some vase-painters and sculptors; the Pan painter's³ Perseus wears a short chiton with beautifully grouped folds round the skirt and his Athena a patterned frock like the young men in the Andocides painter's Concert.⁴ Athena runs up and Perseus skips away with the grace and mannerism of dancers in formal ballet (cf. Pl. 12a⁵). Such a Perseus could fittingly be addressed in the line preserved from Sophocles' *Andromeda*,⁶ 'With horses or with barques do you navigate the earth?' The words are as mannered as the drawing and illustrate that artificiality which Sophocles detected in his own style and which can be found in many phrases from the earlier plays.⁷ In Aeschylus such mannerisms are fewer because they do not accord with the direct emotional attack of the strong style.

The detailed forms of the sensuous and sophisticated styles survive into the early classical period. The prose-writers still join sentence to sentence in the artless manner of Hecataeus,⁸ and Pindar slurs the transition from subject

¹ *Aj.* 1190; 596; 1221; 695.

² Cf. Winter 238 (Ludovisi throne); 245 (Selinus, Temple E.); Ashmole, *Hertz lecture*, 12.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 474.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 313; cf. *ibid.*, fig. 473 (Berlin ptr.).

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 475; Beazley, *Panmaler*, 18.

⁶ Sophocles, fr. 127.

⁷ *Soph. ap. Plutarch, de prof. in virt.* 79 b; cf. *Aj.* 265, 1317; fr. 611 with Pearson's note.

⁸ Cf. p. 11 above; in this period, e.g. Zeno, 1, 2, 3.

to subject like Xenophanes before him.¹ Sometimes the assembly of sentences or words connected by 'and' and the strings of phrases in apposition² have a decorative and courtly appearance like the piled epithets of choral lyric. The precise transitions of the sophisticated style are also still used—the connecting relative, the pick up of words from sentence to sentence, the Homeric transition, and the ring form which clearly defines the beginning and end of the section.³

In art the precise forms of the court style are preserved by the Pan painter. In his two best-known works⁴ (Pl. 12a) he deliberately avoids any representation of depth, although Actaeon and Medusa are falling with their legs doubled up beneath them (it is true that in the later picture he compromises by pulling Actaeon's feet round into the front plane).⁵ When he draws a modern view like the frontal face of his Nike,⁶ he makes it into a pattern which will fit into his decorative scheme. In composition he is a mannerist, and links figure to figure by some kind of formal connexion. In the Perseus scene the small overlap of Perseus' foot and Medusa's hand⁷ is like in kind to the connecting relative in literature. In his Caeneus⁸ the overlapping group of two figures corresponds to the Homeric transition in literature. Thus the court style survives learned, decorative, and precise. But the dominant style in the first half of the fifth century is the strong style.

¹ *I.* vi. 19; cf. Bacchylides, iii. 23.

² Pindar, *O.* ii. 53; Aesch. *Ag.* 896; Empedocles, 128; see above, p. 20.

³ *Connecting relative*: Aesch. *Pers.* 16. *Pick up*: Aesch. *P.V.* 39 (with Thomson's note on 36). *Homeric transition*: Soph. *Aj.* 295. *Ring form*: Aesch. *Cho.* 749–62; Soph. *Aj.* 1229–57.

⁴ Pfuhl, figs. 475, 474.
⁵ Cf. Winter, 238, fig. 1 (Ludovisi throne); Pfuhl, fig. 498 (Pistoxenus ptr.).

⁶ *Panmaler*, pl. 14. 2.

⁷ Pfuhl, fig. 474; cf. fig. 476.

⁸ *Panmaler*, pl. 27. 1. The same function is performed by the independent groups of Centaur and Lapith boy on either side of the W. pediment of Olympia, Winter, 240, fig. 3; 243, fig. 1.

THE STRONG STYLE

The Persian wars and particularly the expedition of Xerxes demonstrated spectacularly the truth of the old Greek theory that the gods punish violence and pride. In the *Persae* the wise old king Darius says of Xerxes' disaster:¹ 'Heaps of corpses will give dumb testimony to the eyes of men, even to the third generation, that a mortal should not be too proud. *Hybris* blossoms and produces a crop of *ate* from which it reaps a harvest of tears.' The process has three stages, first, *hybris*, the initial act of pride, violence, or folly, secondly, *ate*, infatuation, sent by the gods to lead the sinner to his ruin, and thirdly enlightenment whether of the sinner himself or of the world through his example. Xerxes' act of *hybris* was in general his naval activities and in particular the bridging of the Hellespont, his *ate* was to believe the lies which Themistocles told him before Salamis, and his disaster is given to the world as a warning by Aeschylus.

The theory thus demonstrated dominates early classical thought, and the stories of mythology are told again as examples of *hybris*. In Pindar's second *Pythian*² Ixion's *hybris* is to fall in love with Hera, his *ate* to pursue his suit, and his punishment is both an enlightenment to him and a warning to the world. Sophocles moulds the story of Ajax so that Ajax plots the murder of the generals in sanity, and only goes mad when on the point of carrying out his plot. The attempt to kill the Atridae is an act of *hybris*; *ate* in the form of madness imposed by Athena causes him to turn his sword against cattle and so exposes him to the shame which drives him to suicide. Before his suicide he has a moment of insight:³ 'Therefore henceforward we shall know to yield to the gods and shall learn to

¹ *Pers.* 818 f.; see Snell, *Aischylos*, 70; Nestle, *Menschliche Existenz*, 82.

² *P.* ii. 20 f.

³ *Aj.* 666; see below, p. 78.

reverence the Atridae.' He has learnt *sophrosyne* by his suffering, and although his knowledge does not prevent his death, he too has shown an example to the world.

An essential stage in this process is the intervention of a god to cause the infatuation. Immediately after his description of Ixion, Pindar continues:¹ 'God achieves every end of his hope, god who equals the winged eagle and passes the dolphin in the sea, and bends the proud-hearted, but to others gives undying glory.' The conclusion is certain, that this is the god who both gave Ixion his wealth, and when he abused his wealth brought about his ruin. The description is high and splendid, and such a god is above the traditional Zeus.² The unapproachable majesty of these solemn and lofty gods is represented by contemporary sculptors, in the Zeus of Artemisium (Pl. 6) and the Apollo of Olympia,³ which are immeasurably grander than the beautifully dressed lady who does duty for Athena on the West pediment of Aegina.⁴ The gods of the classical period are kindlier again and less awesomely remote; on the Lion metope from Olympia⁵ Athena already smiles at the weary Heracles; but the change is only beginning as yet.

Hybris may be subdivided into impiety, violence, pride, and folly.⁶ It is impious for a mortal to go beyond the bounds which the gods have set for his activity;⁷ Xerxes took to the sea, when the gods had ordained a land empire for the Persians, and tried to fetter a god by bridging the Hellespont. Probably the Amazonomachies which are so

¹ P. ii. 49 f.

² This is the sense of Aesch. *Ag.* 160; cf. above, p. 33; cf. also Pindar's purification of myths, p. 31 above; Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, 126.

³ *J.H.S.* 1929, pl. vii; Winter, 242, fig. 3; cf. Curtius, *Antike Kunst*, 319.

⁴ Winter, 224, fig. 2.

⁵ Winter, 243, fig. 4, by one of the youngest sculptors at Olympia; cf. Myron's Athena, Winter, 253, fig. 1; earlier, Pfuhl, fig. 498 (Aphrodite).

⁶ Nestle, op. cit. 60.

⁷ Cf. Pindar, *P.* x. 27 (quoted p. 31 above).

popular in contemporary art¹ should be interpreted in this way; the Amazons have not kept within their heaven-appointed bounds; they do not behave like ordinary women, and they have had the temerity to attack Greeks in their jealousy.²

Ixion's sin was partly impiety and partly violence. It was impious to make love to Hera, but to slay a kinsman by guile was an act of violence.³ Polygnotus or Micon painted a Centauromachy in the Theseum, which not only inspired the Niobid painter with the subject for a vase, but also influenced the designer of the West pediment of Olympia.⁴ In Olympia the ethical meaning of the scene is made clear by the contrast between the violence of the Centaurs as they ravish women and boys and the lofty superiority of Apollo as he sends Theseus and Peirithous into the fray. The East pediment⁵ also portrays the punishment of *hybris*; the details of the story which the sculptor adopted are not known, but it is certain that Oenomaus proposes to use violence and guile to rid himself of Pelops, and that Zeus will cause his downfall with the thunderbolt which he holds in his left hand.

Perhaps the most characteristically Greek form of *hybris* is arrogance. Pindar names *hybris* 'bold-spoken',⁶ and when in the *Septem* the messenger comes to report that Thebes is safe, he says: "The boasting of fierce men is come to nought."⁷ Several tragic heroes, Prometheus, Sarpedon, and Niobe in Aeschylus, Ajax and Thamyras in Sophocles,⁸ take their place by the side of the Argive champions as

¹ Paintings in the Theseum and Stoa Poikile (O. 1054-1086); reflections on vases, Pfuhl, figs. 504-9. ² Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 686. ³ *P.* ii. 30 f.

⁴ O. 1086; Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 24b, c; Winter, 240, fig. 1.

⁵ Winter, 240, fig. 2; Hege and Rodenwaldt, *Olympia*, 32.

⁶ O. xiii. 10; cf. *I.* v. 51.

⁷ *Sept.* 794.

⁸ Aesch. *P.V.* 320; Sarpedon, fr. 99; Niobe *ap.* Pickard-Cambridge, *Greek Poetry and Life*, 109; Soph. *Aj.* 766.

arrogant boasters who suffer for their boasting. Niobe and Actaeon are shown on vases receiving 'the wages of the too high-spoken tongue',¹ and Polygnotus, inspired by Sophocles, painted Thamyras both before and after his blinding.² Another famous fresco in Athens, to judge from its echo in the work of the Altamura painter and the Niobid painter, had the battle between the gods and Giants for its subject. The Giants were guilty of *hybris*, and according to Aeschylus Typhon was a 'high-tongued boaster', but 'there came upon him the sleepless bolt of Zeus, descendent lightning, breathing forth flame'.³ Whereas in the Siphnian frieze the Giants were not strongly differentiated from the gods, the painters of the early classical period have given their gods something of the dazzling Aeschylean splendour (Pl. 8).⁴

Bacchylides attributes the destruction of the Giants to the mad folly of their *hybris*.⁵ The most striking instances of this fourth kind of *hybris* belong to the Theban story. Laius was 'overcome by his own lack of counsel', when he begot Oedipus; Oedipus cursed his sons 'in the madness of his heart'; and when Eteocles decides to meet Polynices, the chorus beg him not to let 'wrathful war-mad infatuation' carry him away.⁶

The reverse of *hybris* is *sophrosyne*. To have *sophrosyne* is to keep within the limits imposed by nature and position.⁷ Positively, the man who has *sophrosyne* accepts and rejoices in the good things which each day brings, seeing them against their background of possible grief and disaster, and never striving for joys or successes beyond his power.

¹ Actaeon, Pl. 12a; Pfuhl, fig. 475; Niobe, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 5a, 8.

² For ref. see Webster, *Sophocles*, 9.

³ *P.V.* 360.

⁴ Winter, 209, figs. 5-6; Pfuhl, fig. 510 (Altamura ptr.); *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 16.

⁵ Bacchylides, xv. 59.

⁶ *Sept.* 750, 781, 686.

⁷ e.g. *Aj.* 646; *P.* iii. 63; *Eum.* 521. On Pindar see Gundert, *Pindar u. sein Dichterberuf*, 20.



a. Euphronius: Heracles and Geryon.



b. Penthesilea painter: Achilles and Penthesilea.

'Creatures of a day. What is he? What is he not? A shadow's dream is man. But when the god-given gleam comes, a bright radiance is over men and life is honey-sweet.'¹

The theory of *hybris* and *sophrosyne* is a gospel which poets and artists of the early classical period preach to their audiences. The word *ekplexis* (consternation) is used more than once of the effect produced by Aeschylus;² the poet uses all his resources of spectacle, language, and music to break down the resistance of his audience and convey to them his religious meaning. Many of the spectacles in early classical tragedy have this object and thus differ from the older decorative spectacle.³ The most sustained example is the prologue of the *Eumenides*.⁴ The tone is set by the priestess who comes out in terror from the shrine.

Ah! Horrors, horrors, dire to speak or see,
From Loxias' chamber drive me reeling back.
My knees are weak beneath me, and I lack
The strength to fly. . . . O hands, drag me from here
If feet fail!

Then the doors open and disclose Orestes seated on the omphalos and round him the Furies.

Women? Nay, never women! Gorgons more:
And yet not like the Gorgon shapes of yore.

Then Apollo appears, then the ghost of Clytemnestra. The terrifying aspect of the Furies, as described by the priestess, may be compared with the demon Eurynomus in Polygnotus' *Nekyia* at Delphi.⁵ Eurynomus eats the

¹ P. viii. 95.

² e.g. scholiast to the Cassandra scene of the *Agamemnon*.

³ In the *Agamemnon* the decorative spectacle of the King's entry changes into ecplectic spectacle when the doors open to disclose Clytemnestra, the slaves with the purple carpet by her side.

⁴ *Eum.* 34, tr. Murray.

⁵ O. 1050; cf. also Tityus in the same picture.

flesh of the dead, leaving only their bones; he is described as being between blue and black in colour, showing his teeth and sitting on the skin of a vulture. The silent figures, for which Aeschylus is criticized by Aristophanes, had the same object of *ekplexis*.¹ For a similar purpose in the *Persae*² the spirit of Darius is summoned in wild Eastern song by the chorus, and appears above his tomb just as Theseus rose from the ground in Panaenus' picture of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile.³

Sophocles also used 'eclectic' spectacle in his early plays. In the *Niobe*⁴ one at least of the children of Niobe died on the stage, and the lesson of *sophrosyne* was enforced by the direct and terrible spectacle of the results of *hybris*. One of the great Athenian painters represented this scene, and a reflection of his picture can be seen in a vase by the Niobid painter (Pl. 9):⁵ Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the sons and daughters of Niobe in the mountains; one daughter and one son are lying on the ground, one son is falling and one has just been hit by an arrow as he tries to escape.

In all these scenes, whether painted or acted, audience or spectators are gripped by the emotion of beholding some tremendous event. Although the line of distinction is narrow, it is worth distinguishing another kind of spectacle, because the second type, 'the psychological spectacle', can be so developed that its primary effect is to display the character of the chief actor or actors.⁶ In the psychological spectacle the emotion of all the actors is

¹ *Frogs*, 911; e.g. Cassandra in the *Agamemnon*; discussion and lists, Schmid-Stählin, ii. 263.

² *Pers.* 628 f.; cf. the ghost of Sophocles' *Polyxena*, fr. 523.

³ O. 1054.

⁴ Fr. 442; see Pearson *ad loc.*; cf. Ajax among the slaughtered cattle and the suicide of Ajax.

⁵ *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 5a; cf. the corpses in the Polygnotan Sack of Troy, O. 1050, A, p.

⁶ See below, p. 81.

added to the emotion of the audience. In the *Persae*¹ the anxiety for Xerxes and his troops which is felt by the chorus of Persian elders before any news has come, and rises higher with Atossa's description of her dream, culminates in the arrival of the messenger which fulfils the fear of Atossa and the councillors so that the long recital is a matter of intense interest to actors, chorus, and spectators, all of whom are dumbfounded by the downfall of Xerxes' pride before Greek modesty and discipline. The West pediment of Olympia,² which depicts another act of *hybris* and its punishment, is similarly dominated by the emotion of the participants from the calm certainty of Apollo to the agonized apprehension of the old women in the corner. Sophocles' *Ajax* also ends with an emotional tableau: the contest between Odysseus (*sophrosyne*) and Agamemnon (*hybris*) is anxiously watched by Tecmessa and Eurysaces, by Menelaus, and by Teucer and the sailors of Ajax.

Many acted and painted spectacles are remarkable for that violence of movement which forms part of the revolt against the decorative formalism of the court style.³ The wild eastern dances of the chorus in the *Persae* when they summon up the ghost of Darius have already been quoted.⁴ The Thracians who formed the chorus of Sophocles' *Thamyras* danced wildly under the influence of his music:⁵ 'Hastening songs are these we hear, running, walking, with hands, with feet.' Many of the scenes depicted by sculptors and painters represent violent action

¹ Cf. the messenger speeches in Sophocles' *Eurypylos*; in the *Septem*; the trial scene of the *Eumenides*.

² Winter, 240, fig. 3; cf. O. 1050, A, t: the house of Antenor in Polygnotus' 'Sack of Troy': 'there is a look of disaster on all their faces'.

³ See above, p. 36.

⁴ Cf. *Sept.* 79; *Ag.* 1073; *Cho.* 875; *P.V.* 561.

⁵ Fr. 240; cf. 245.

(Pl. 7*b*).¹ One picture worthy of more particular mention is the Pan painter's Busiris,² in which he completely abandons his mannerist composition. Four figures fill the space on the front of the vase. To the right of the central altar, one snub-nosed Egyptian stands with a mallet in both hands to deal a heavy blow at Heracles, the second cowers down in fear, his hands above his head. From the left Heracles strides forward; he grips a third Egyptian by the ankles, and is going to use him as a club to beat down the mallet-swinger. This motive the scene has in common with the Caeretan hydria in Vienna (Pl. 2);³ but the atmosphere has changed from comedy to tragedy.

Realism also appears again in high art and literature as a means of stirring the emotions of the audience. Caricature and satire go back beyond the beginning of the ripe archaic period.⁴ In the years after 480 art provides more evidence than literature. But the earliest Athenian comedy was evidently realistic and personal (Cratinus,⁵ who went 'bald-headed' for the offender, won his first victory in 453); and the one surviving literary document, Timocreon's attack on Themistocles, in which Themistocles is described as 'gorged with silver', 'a laughable innkeeper, providing cold meat',⁶ is a worthy successor to Anacreon's Artemon. The painters show this realist tradition more clearly.⁷ The picture of pirates ducking their prisoners,⁸ by the Beldam painter, a fifth-century painter of black-figured lekythoi, is a realistic scene of ordinary life. In the picture which gives the Telephus painter⁹ his name a heroic scene is translated into the jargon of everyday

¹ e.g. W. pediment of Olympia; Pfuhl, fig. 501 (Penthesilea ptr.); 504-7 (group of Niobid ptr.)

³ Pfuhl, fig. 152.

² Beazley, *Panmaler*, pl. 7.

⁴ See above, pp. 5, 14.

⁵ Platonius, Kaibel, *C.G.F.* 6; cf. *Ar. Poetics*, 1449^b8.

⁶ 1; cf. Bowra, *Lyric Poetry*, 377.

⁷ Cf. Haspels, *op. cit.* 190.

⁸ Pfuhl, fig. 281; cf. Haspels, *op. cit.*, pl. 49.

⁹ Pfuhl, fig. 447; cf. fig. 509 (group of Niobid ptr.); see Beazley, *V.A.* 128.

affairs; Telephus with his felt hat, wild hair and beard, and an obvious bandage about his thigh, recalls Aristophanes' description of Euripides' later play. The name is unknown of Pythagoras' 'limping man, the pain in whose wound even the spectators can feel';¹ but whether the subject was Philoctetes or not, the statue must have given a realistic representation of pain.

The poets and artists of the strong style naturally find in this realism a corrective to the flounces of the court style, and even gods and heroes partake of it. The bronze Zeus from the sea (Pl. 6)² has short untidy hair and beard instead of orderly ringlets, and the Zeus of the East pediment of Olympia³ wears a himation with naturalistic folds instead of formal cascades. The typical woman's dress is the Dorian peplos with square and nearly foldless overfall,⁴ and, as Pohlenz⁵ rightly notes, in the *Persae* 'the dreaming queen sees Hellas attired in the characteristic, strong Dorian dress'.

The realism of Timocreon and the Beldam painter is now brought up from the underworld of lampoon and caricature and given a place in serious art and literature. Although gods and heroes are not unaffected, it is particularly the minor figures in great compositions—the nurse in the *Choephoroi*, Heracles' nurse in the Linus scene by the Pistoxenus painter (Pl. 18b), and the worried seer from the East pediment of Olympia⁶—who are realistically portrayed. The Aeschylean nurse describes the details of her office in broken sentences: 'And dear Orestes, bane of my

¹ S.J. 72; cf. the Naxian satyr, Ashmole, op. cit., fig. 50.

² J.H.S. 1929, pl. vii; cf. Winter, 233. 9; see von Salis, op. cit. 84.

³ Hege-Rodenwaldt, *Olympia*, pl. 25.

⁴ e.g. the Hestia Giustiniani, Winter, 236, fig. 4.

⁵ Pohlenz, *Gr. Trag.* 50.

⁶ *Cho.* 749 f.; Pfuhl, fig. 471; Winter, 242, fig. 2; Winter, *N.J.* 66, xxiii, 1909, 702, compares the Nurse of the *Choephoroi* with the worried seer of Olympia.

life, whom I brought up, taking him from his mother, and from shrill night-cries many troubles, profitless to me who bore them, for the witless must be cherished like an animal. Of course. By guessing its mind. A boy in swaddling clothes doesn't speak if gripped by hunger, thirst, or natural need. The young belly is the child's tyrant.' For her appearance the Pistoxenus painter is a guide. His nurse hobbles along with a large stick; her nose is hooked, her face, feet, and arms tattooed, and her mouth deficient in teeth. The sculptor of the East pediment of Olympia has delighted in rendering the agonized gesture, the folds of flesh over the belly, and the naturalistic himation of the old seer, who knows that his master is doomed to perish. All are realistic; all are part of a scene composed in the grand manner, and the stark realism of their rendering is a factor in the 'consternation' of the audience.

Many other examples could be added of realism in heroic painting and sculpture (Pl. 10),¹ and in tragedy several kinds of realism can be distinguished. The nurse in the *Choephori* is realistic both in appearance and in speech. She takes her place beside the watchman and the herald of the *Agamemnon*² as a figure from unheroic life. We also know that Aeschylus introduced intoxicated characters on to the stage in the *Cabiri* and *Ostologi*, and in the *Eumenides*³ the priestess entered on all fours when she had seen the Furies. Realism of diction can be seen in broken speech like that of the nurse,⁴ in homely proverbs like the 'great ox' of the watchman,⁵ or in homely methods of argument, like the riddles which Menelaus and Teucer set

¹ Pfuhl, figs. 492, 496 (aged warrior); 506 (dirty foot); Winter, 238, fig. 5 (old woman).

² Cf. Oceanus in the *P.V.* In appearance the choruses of the *Agamemnon* and *Choephori* were realistic; *Ag.* 72; *Cho.* 22.

³ *Eum.* 37; cf. 117, the dreaming Furies.

⁴ Cf. *Ag.* 555 f.; see Verrall's note on the diction.

⁵ *Ag.* 36.

each other in the *Ajax*,¹ but also in those scenes² where the dignity of the tragic stage is forgotten and the characters abuse each other like ordinary Athenians. The early classical poet uses the full scale of tones, and his heights seem higher because his depths are lower.

In early classical art and poetry the parts are subordinated to the whole and only exist because of their place in the whole. Just as realism only appears as a means of stirring the audience, mythological allusions, images, and metaphors are not introduced for their own sake but to illuminate the thought or heighten the emotion. The favourite scenes of painters and sculptors, Centauromachy, Gigantomachy, and Amazonomachy, are all examples of the punishment of *hybris*, and Myron's sculptural group of Athena and Marsyas³ may be symbolical of a change to sterner educational ideas. The myths of the great athletic odes usually have a direct reference to the victor and his victory.⁴ In the third *Pythian* Pindar tells Hiero that he wishes Chiron were alive again; Chiron had trained the healing hero Asclepius; Asclepius' mother and Asclepius himself were guilty of *hybris* because they refused to observe the limits set for mortals. Hiero is ill, and Pindar wishes that he could send him a good doctor; but as he cannot, he comforts him with the advice to bear his ills as a good man should. He preaches *sophrosyne*, the virtue which Asclepius and his mother lacked, and clinches his sermon by reference to Peleus and Cadmus. Thus the myth directly illustrates the message he wishes to send to Hiero. Similarly Bacchylides,⁵ wishing to illustrate the advantages to a tyrant of piety, tells the story of Croesus' miraculous preservation.

¹ *Aj.* 1142.

² *Ag.* 1650; *Aj.* 1111.

³ Von Salis, op. cit. 108.

⁴ Schadewaldt, *Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*, 325 f.; Fehr, *Die Mythen bei Pindar*.

⁵ Bacchylides, iii. In his other odes the myths are purely decorative.

In tragedy too mythological allusions throw a light on the main theme. The description of the Argive champions in the *Septem*¹ has seemed to some to lead away from the central story into irrelevant mythology, but Aeschylus wants to drive home the contrast between *hybris* and *sophrosyne* at the moment when Eteocles is about to abandon *sophrosyne* for *hybris*. In the *Ajax*² Sophocles makes Teucer compare the fate of Ajax with that of Hector. The external and formal link of the fatal gifts allows Sophocles to measure Ajax by the known standard of Homer's Hector. Ajax is a greater warrior than Hector as appears from Teucer's later speech to Agamemnon; but he is less human in his scene with Tecmessa and Eurysaces than Hector in the corresponding scene from the sixth book of the *Iliad*, when he bids farewell to Andromache.

Symbol and metaphor illuminate by reference to something of known intellectual and emotional value. In the *Choephori* Orestes³ compares himself and Electra to the starving brood of an eagle which has been killed by a snake. The comparison recalls the two eagles at Aulis in which Calchas recognized Agamemnon and Menelaus; the snake symbol is used again of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus at the end of the *Choephori*, and of the Furies at the beginning of the *Eumenides*. The poet takes his images from the animal world, because the qualities of eagles and snakes are more clearly marked than those of men, and the reference to them fixes the qualities of men clearly and frighteningly.

Many of the countless metaphors of Pindar and Aeschylus have the same purpose. Pindar twice⁴ speaks of the Persian war as a storm, and in the longer of these comparisons he adds that the joy of peace is like the joy of

¹ *Sept.* 375 f.; cf. *P.V.* 347 (the other Titans); *Cho.* 602 (Meleager).

² *Aj.* 1028 (cf. 662, 817), 1273, 545.

³ *Cho.* 247; *Ag.* 112; *Cho.* 1048; *Eum.* 127; cf. *Ag.* 717; *Aj.* 670; Pindar, *I.* iv. 49.

⁴ *I.* iv. 16; v. 49.



Altamura painter. Gigantomachy.

spring after a cruel winter: 'On one day the rough snow-storm of war robbed a happy hearth of four men. But now again after the wintry darkness of months the coloured earth blossoms, as it were, with red roses by the will of the gods.' He does not, like Bacchylides, draw a complete picture by the side of the original, but sees the original in the colours and shapes of the picture. Therefore, when Pindar compares himself to an eagle,¹ the image flashes out unexpected and brilliant: 'The eagle is swift among birds, which suddenly swooping from afar seizes its gory prey in its feet. The chattering jackdaws have a lowly pasture.'

For Aeschylus the doctrine of *hybris* is so important, the warning to be conveyed so urgent, that he uses striking metaphors to impress his audience. In the *Persae*², *ate* is a decoy luring men into her snares by her smile, and in another place³ *hybris* flowers and bears a crop of *ate*, of which the harvest is tears. In the *Agamemnon*⁴ *hybris* is a mother, who begets two children, new *hybris* and audacity, black *atai*, like their parents. Such images cannot be forgotten, but become a possession for ever. The metaphors which Aeschylus uses of the troubled soul are equally striking. In the *Persae*⁵ the soul is a mourner black-robed, torn by fear. In the *Agamemnon*⁶ 'the heart grumbles in the dark, never hoping to wind a clean thread from the stirred fires of the mind.' Three images are packed into a single sentence—the rage of some one in the dark who cannot get free, the thread that is tangled and will not wind clean on the ball, and the fire that is stirred to make an illuminating blaze. The metaphor is a kind of limelight, which often, as in the last-quoted example,⁷ changes colour as it plays on the object, so that the audience are stirred by the swift succession of changing images.

¹ *N.* iii. 80 (cf. above, p. 50).

² *Pers.* 97.

³ *Ibid.* 821.

⁴ *Ag.* 764.

⁵ *Pers.* 115.

⁶ *Ag.* 1030.

⁷ Cf. Pindar, *O.* xii. 13; cf. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, 66.

Often, however, metaphors in Pindar and Aeschylus are not used as limelight to fix one particular view in an unforgettable light, but are part of the general illumination of what can truly be called a magnificent style.¹ Most of Aeschylus is written in a rich and heavy style, overlaid with colour and imagery, weighted with long words and compound adjectives. Pindar uses it in his elaborate introductions, of which the first *Pythian* will serve as an example:² 'Golden lyre, possession of Apollo and violet-tressed Muses both, whom the step hears, the beginning of glory, whose signs the singers obey, when quivering you begin the prelude that leads the dance. Even the spearman thunderbolt of everlasting fire you quench. The eagle sleeps on the sceptre of Zeus. . . .' Clytemnestra's final address to Agamemnon³ will illustrate Aeschylean magnificence.

There is the sea—its caverns who shall drain?
Breeding of many a purple shell the stain
Surpassing silver, ever fresh renewed,
For robes of kings.

The *Prometheus* is less magnificent than the *Oresteia* and approaches more nearly to the Sophoclean manner. Sophocles himself tells us that his early style suffered from the pomp of Aeschylus, and the fragments of the early plays⁴ and several passages in the *Ajax*⁵ make this judgement intelligible.

The magnificent style occurs in art as well as literature; the large solemn figures are magnificently conceived, and wear elaborate and dignified clothing and adornments. The elegant and intricate folds of ripe archaic drapery have given place to heavy garments with bold and rich patterns.

¹ e.g. *Eum.* 78, 91, 196, 249; Pindar, *O.* vi. 1.

² Cf. *O.* i. 1; *N.* i. 1.

⁴ e.g. frs. 11, 210.8, 523, 596.

³ *Ag.* 958, tr. Murray.

⁵ e.g. 317 f., 575-815 f.

The Penthesilea cup¹ (Pl. 7*b*, cf. 10) probably reflects large painting more accurately than most. 'Achilles' mantle is red on the shoulder and below becomes white-yellow. The folds at the edge are blue-grey. Shield and helmet of the warrior are brown-red. His mantle is red-grey with glittering patterns. Penthesilea's dress has the same yellow-white as Achilles' mantle. Arm and foot rings, the adornments of the women, and parts of the weapons are in raised gold.'

Richness and elaboration of form can also produce an emotional effect, particularly when the form carries with it the emotional flavour of its original. In the *Septem*, as in the earlier *Suppliants*,² the two turning-points in the action, Eteocles' appeal to the chorus and the chorus's appeal to Eteocles, are cast into the form of a lyric dialogue,³ and the *Ajax*, alone of the surviving plays of Sophocles, has three such lyric dialogues;⁴ undoubtedly the form, which is reminiscent of the ritual lament, calls up some of the emotion associated with the lament.

But apart from this particular use, the Greek likes to cast his matter into a strict form, such as the symmetrical arrangement about a central figure, scene, or sentiment; the victor ode is composed about its central myth and the pediment about its central figure. When Bacchylides⁵ composes his fifth ode symmetrically about Meleager's speech to Heracles, he is writing in the decorative ripe archaic manner. But in Pindar and in certain parts of Aeschylus the formal manipulation of the subject-matter achieves a kind of hieratic force and impressiveness. The

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 501; Diepolder, *Penthesileamalerei*, 14 n. 32; cf. Pfuhl, fig. 492; fig. 505 (Niobid ptr.), and above, p. 35.

² See above, pp. 21, 42.

³ *Sept.* 203, 677.

⁴ *Aj.* 201, 348, 866.

⁵ The stages are: Hiero and Bacchylides—Heracles—Meleager—Heracles—Hiero and Bacchylides.

first fifty lines of the third *Pythian*¹ are balanced about the central gnome, the folly of men's hopes which leads them to *hybris*, and instead of telling a simple story Pindar gives his moral additional weight by leading his audience through the following stages: Chiron and Asclepius—death of Coronis—treachery of Coronis—*hybris*—treachery of Coronis—death of Coronis—Chiron and Asclepius. Similarly in the first *stasimon* of the *Agamemnon*² after introductory anapaests on the vengeance exacted by the god of hospitality, the chorus sing of the injustice of the over-rich, the advantages of a moderate fortune, and the injustice of the over-rich. In the second *strophe* and *antistrophe* the application of the moral is extended to Helen and Menelaus, and finally to the whole city, which reproaches the Atridae with the loss of its sons. Then in the third *antistrophe* the chorus return to the injustice of the over-rich, the advantage of a moderate fortune, and the injustice of the over-rich, thus completing the symmetry and enforcing the moral. Formal arrangement on a larger scale³ can be seen in the seven messenger speeches of the *Septem* with the seven answers by Eteocles and the seven comments by the chorus. The audience are held by the form as well as the content and therefore are the more receptive of the content.

In art decorative symmetry can still be seen in works like the Ludovisi throne,⁴ where the two maidens on either side of Aphrodite exactly balance one another. But the emotional use of symmetry which has just been described has no parallel, since symmetry is part of the artist's stock in trade, and is expected. Therefore when he

¹ See Illig, *Zur Form der Pindarischen Erzählung*, 47 f., &c.; cf. particularly O. vii. 27 f.

² *Ag.* 355; cf. 40; Kranz, op. cit. 161.

³ *Sept.* 369; cf. *P.V.* 640 (the story of Io is told in a formal instead of a chronological order); *Pers.* 290, with Schmid-Stählin's note, ii. 119. 10.

⁴ Winter, 238, fig. 1.

wants to stir emotion, he uses another element of the early classical style, violence. The violence which often characterizes the main picture is extended to the details of the drawing. In the Penthesilea cup (Pl. 7*b*, cf. 8)¹ Achilles' arm makes a right angle as he plunges his sword into Penthesilea; his shield arm is twisted out of sight by a strange distortion; and the Telephus painter,² although he worked in the same shop as the more decorative Macron, delights in sharp and angular gestures, even when the subject does not demand them. The fashion is followed by the terra-cotta moulders and coin engravers of the West,³ but there it seems to be a manner, and only the squatting satyr of a Naxian coin⁴ shows the true early classical violence in the hard lines of shoulders and arms.

The details of language also reflect the violence of the strong style, and, as in the later years of the ripe archaic period, many passages are written in staccato: 'Creatures of a day. What is he? What is he not? A shadow's dream is man.'⁵ When Bacchylides⁶ copies Pindar's staccato he borrows the Pindaric manner without the Pindaric force, like the Western artists who adopt an early classical angularity in their decorative compositions. Aeschylus, however, uses philosophical, emotional, and narrative staccato. In particular he transforms the old piled epithets of the choral lyric into a new and highly emotional asyndeton which culminates in Calchas' interpretation of the omen in the *Agamemnon*.⁷ 'There abides fearful, resurgent, house-disposing, crafty, mindful, child-avenging wrath.'

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 501; cf. fig. 505 (Niobid ptr.); fig. 510 (Altamura ptr.); cf. also Pfuhl, fig. 500 (Penthesilea ptr.).

² Ibid., figs. 446, 447, 449.

³ Ashmole, op. cit., figs. 9, 11, 14.

⁴ Ibid., fig. 50.

⁵ *P.* viii. 95; cf. *I.* vii. 39. Narrative; *N.* i. 53.

⁶ Bacchylides, i. 160; iii. 85.

⁷ *Ag.* 147; see above, p. 35. Perhaps the asyndeton of invective influences such passages, cf. Timocreon, 1. 5.

Often in emotional staccato verbs are in asyndeton as in Ajax' last speech: 'Go, swift and vengeful furies, batten on the whole host, spare them not.'¹ Often, however, where we should use asyndeton, short paratactic sentences are used; thus Murray translates three sentences, connected by 'but', in the *Eumenides*:²

Not to betray thou knowest. Oh, ponder yet
One other lesson, Lord—not to forget!
Thy strength in doing can be trusted well.

Orestes' swift speech depends on the emphasis of the voice rather than the explicit statement of thought; he jumps his connexions, and the mind of the listener has to supply what the poet has omitted. Pindar, after describing the preliminaries of the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus, ends: 'He took strong Oenomaus, and the maiden to wife.' The compression of the story is made more violent by the startling zeugma with 'took'. Zeugma, brachylogy, and asymmetry are the technical means of the violent style.³

The transition from subject to subject is no longer made by carefully constructed connecting elements like the connecting relative and the Homeric transition. Pindar, as in his earliest period, often marks the beginning of a new section by some striking phrase, such as an image,⁴ or by a strong adversative particle.⁵ In the eleventh *Pythian* he passes from the victory to the moral by asyndeton:⁶ 'May god grant me to love what is honourable.' These strong forms of transition, in which there is no reference back to the previous subject, but a marked break, are common in Pindar and fairly common in the more emotional passages of tragedy.

¹ *Aj.* 843.

² *Eum.* 85; cf. images in parataxis; *Ag.* 76; Pindar, *O.* i. 1; see above, p. 38.

³ *O.* i. 88.

⁴ *O.* xiii. 93; cf. ii. 83; see above, p. 37.

⁵ e.g. *I.* vii. 37.

⁶ *P.* xi. 50b.

In art too the strong style develops new methods of transition. In the crowded friezes of Amazonomachy and Gigantomachy¹ (Pl. 8), the overlap which binds the figures together is not the formal overlap of the court style, but represents the swirl of the *mêlée*, and juxtaposed figures or groups² no longer echo each other in shape or outline. Artemis and Actaeon in the Pan painter's later version³ (Pl. 12a) do not overlap, and by this separation the painter has expressed the distance between goddess and mortal.

The abrupt breaks and violent distortions do not disturb the general unity of the composition. The poets and artists of the early fifth century abandon the clear-cut definition of the court style, and subordinate the parts to the whole, that they may the better convey their message to the audience. Pindar chooses the moral suitable to the particular victor whom he is praising and the myth that illustrates the moral. Nor is the metrical structure of the victor ode allowed to condition the expression of thought; all the three odes of Bacchylides⁴ which provide evidence, and all but six⁵ of the thirty-one early classical odes of Pindar⁶ have overlaps of sense from triad to triad, so that the separate metrical systems are connected into a whole.

The earliest of the surviving tragedies, the *Persae*, tells a simple story in three stages, foreboding, fulfilment (the messenger speech), and outcome (the return of Xerxes); inside this general scheme the entry of characters is care-

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 505 (Niobid ptr.); fig. 510 (Altamura ptr.).

² e.g. the groups of the W. pediment and metopes of Olympia, Winter, 240, 244, fig. 5. ³ Pfuhl, fig. 475. ⁴ Bacchylides, i, iii, v.

⁵ Of the six *P.* i, ii, *O.* vii, xiii are stately and formal: *N.* x, xi belong to the years after 450. The last dated ode, *P.* viii, has only one overlap in five triads, i.e. Pindar returns to his earlier manner.

⁶ In *O.* ix, written in 466, all three transitions are slurred.

fully prepared.¹ In the lyrics² overlap of sense is allowed from verse to verse, and the complicated metrical texture of the whole softens the sharp contrast between choral lyric and spoken iambic. The recited anapaests of the chorus of Persian elders rises to the lyrics of the sung *parodos*; the tone then descends by way of spoken trochaics to the spoken iambics of Atossa's dream to rise again through trochaics to the excited lyric dialogue with the messenger.³

Both the Theban trilogy and the *Oresteia* have a connected story,⁴ and even the two satyr plays, *Sphinx* and *Proteus*, are germane to the theme; the *Proteus* dealt with Menelaus in Egypt, and the audience are prepared for it by the inquiries about Menelaus which are introduced into the *Agamemnon*.⁵ The three tragedies are also bound together by references forward from the end of one play to the beginning of the next,⁶ and by the recurrence of certain ideas and subjects.⁷ Nevertheless in contrast with the *Persae*, where nothing unexpected happens, it is justifiable to regard the Cassandra scene of the *Agamemnon*⁸ as starting a new direction in the action, and in the *Ajax* a second action starts with the arrival of Teucer's messenger, a scene marked off by sharp breaks on either side. Here is

¹ e.g. Darius: *Pers.* 6, 145, 198, 221, 523, 621.

² *Pers.* 120, 871, 879; *Sept.* 749; *Ag.* 176, 238; *P.V.* 415. The *Ajax* has no overlap; it again marks a return to the ripe archaic manner.

³ The recited anapaests of the *Oresteia* and the *Ajax* and the spoken trochaics at the end of the *Agamemnon* are a survival of this technique.

⁴ In the later *Telepheia* of Sophocles and Trojan trilogy of Euripides the connexion was much slighter.

⁵ *Ag.* 617.

⁶ Ref. to *Cho.*: *Ag.* 1280, 1535, 1646. Ref. to *Eum.*: *Cho.* 987 (995), 1059.

⁷ e.g. the doer shall suffer, *Ag.* 177; *Cho.* 313; *Eum.* 334; the irrevocability of shedding blood, *Ag.* 1019; *Cho.* 400; *Eum.* 550. Cf. Thomson on the disease metaphor in the *P.V.* (his edition, 11 n. 2).

⁸ A new action also in the final chorus of the *Eumenides*.



Niobid panther Slaying of the Niobids

a return to the freer composition of the ripe archaic period.¹

Painters and sculptors of the strong style weld their composition into a close unity. The scheme of the West pediment at Olympia² is a further development of the design used for the East pediment in Aegina;³ the whole pediment is held together by the lines which run out from the central figures, ricochetting off the base and roof until they reach the corners. The groups on either side of the central Apollo form in themselves an explosive V, a grouping which is commonly used for two figures both in painting and in sculpture, for instance the Artemis and Actaeon of the Pan painter (Pl. 12a) and the Marsyas group of Myron.⁴ The inverted V (or triangle) is also common; the figures are bound tightly together into a compact pyramid; instances are the Olympian metope with the hind, and the Pan painter's Busiris.⁵ As used by the artists of the strong style, these forms tie the group firmly into a compact whole. The single figure is converted into an organic unity by the new stance with head slightly inclined and the weight unevenly disposed between the legs.⁶

At the same time painters explored the problem of uniting the depth of a picture with its surface extension. In Pliny's list of painters⁷ Eumarus (or Eumares) of Athens, who 'dared to imitate all shapes' and presumably is on a level with vase-painters like Euthymides, is succeeded by Cimon of Cleonae, 'who worked out his inventions. He invented *catagrapha*—three-quarter faces—and various positions for the head, looking back, looking up, looking

¹ Cf. above, pp. 23, 26.

² Winter, 240, fig. 3.

³ Ibid. 222, fig. 2; see above, p. 41.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 475 (Pan ptr.); Winter, 253 (Myron).

⁵ Ibid. 244, fig. 5; *Panmaler*, pl. 7.

⁶ e.g. Winter, 233, fig. 9, Choiseul Gouffier Apollo. See above, p. 40.

⁷ O. 377; cf., in general, von Salis, op. cit. 100; see above, p. 34.

down.' This is probably the stage reflected by the boldest of the ripe archaic painters such as the Cleophrades painter. Further steps were made in the early classical period. In Micon's picture of the Return of the Argonauts one of the Argonauts, Butes,¹ was painted so that only his helmet and one eye appeared above a mountain. Micon and Polygnotus divided up the depth of the picture by wavy lines representing hummocks and hillocks, and when they wanted to show that a figure was at the back of the scene partially hid it behind a hill; the Niobid painter has used the new convention to indicate foreground, middle distance, and background in his Argonaut picture (Pl. 10).²

A more fundamental advance was made by Agatharchus.³ 'Agatharchus was the first scene-painter. He painted at Athens when Aeschylus produced a tragedy and left a commentary about it. This caused Anaxagoras and Democritus to work out the rules of perspective.' Agatharchus' scenery must have been designed for the latest plays of Aeschylus because the invention of scene-painting is also ascribed to Sophocles, and because Agatharchus can be traced beyond our period. But the passage shows that perspective began to be used on a large scale in the early classical period. Although vases by their nature cannot provide much evidence (Pl. 10),⁴ some bold uses of depth like the frontal horse in one of the Amazonomachies⁵ undoubtedly reflect the work of the big painters. Spectators trained in ripe archaic conventions must have found the new pictures startlingly real; they almost took part in the Gigantomachies and Amazonomachies, and helped *sophrosyne* to triumph over *hybris*.

¹ O. 1085; cf. Pfuhl, fig. 506.

² Ibid., fig. 492.

³ Vitruvius, vii. *praef.* 11.

⁴ Shields are commonly represented in perspective now and often shaded, e.g. Pfuhl, fig. 492; cf. the jar, *ibid.*, fig. 489.

⁵ Ibid., fig. 507.

THE CLASSICAL STYLE

Although much of the drama, painting, and sculpture of this period is dominated by the idea of *hybris* and its punishment, a gradual change occurs: the gods become less remote and magnificent, and men take on a more individual shape, as the emphasis shifts from their deeds to their characters. In the circle presided over by Cimon breed and personality based on breed were highly valued, and through these channels the Dorian ideal passes from Pindar to Sophocles. At the same time, the line of speculation which is first seen in Simonides' poem to Scopas¹ by its emphasis on motives rather than actions also leads towards character-drawing.

Of Pindar's portraits the picture of Lampon is perhaps the most complete: 'Lampon bestowing pains on his labours . . . is also loved for his kindness to strangers, pursuing moderation in his heart and keeping to moderation. His tongue does not go beyond his thoughts. Among athletes you could call him an iron-subduing Naxian whetstone among other stones.'² Although Pindar does not give detailed pictures of his victors, he insists on the importance of breed, the character which a man inherits from his father and which is therefore fixed and unalterable, and he notices when the victor is following in the steps of his forbears.³

The Pindaric athlete with his 'lovely body and inherited fearlessness' is an ideal picture,⁴ and in this the elder brother of the ideal characters of Sophocles. Although Ajax is guilty of *hybris*, he is a great and noble figure whose 'virtue' even his enemy Odysseus can praise.⁵ His action is largely determined by the feeling that he

¹ 4; see above, p. 32.

² *I.* vi. 66; cf. ii. 35.

³ *O.* xi. 20; ix. 100; *P.* viii. 44; cf. Gundert, *Pindar u. sein Dichterberuf*, 15.

⁴ *N.* xi. 12.

⁵ *Aj.* 1357.

must not show himself unworthy of his father—‘Some enterprise I must seek by which I shall show my aged father that the son whom he begot is not faint-hearted’,¹ and he demands the same high standards in his own son, Eurysaces.² Agamemnon and Menelaus hold an intelligible and logical political theory, although we may dislike its application. Sophocles’ character-drawing can therefore justifiably be called ideal.

Aristotle uses the phrase ‘better than ourselves’ to describe the characters of both Sophocles and the painter Polygnotus³, whom elsewhere he calls a ‘good draughtsman of character’.⁴ Polygnotus, who also belonged to the circle of Cimon, was certainly working in Athens in the sixties and fifties, but the beginning of this tendency is to be found in the solemn figures of sculpture and vases at the end of the ripe archaic period.⁵ In the sixties there is a subtle change which is not easy to describe: the heaviness and severity of the earlier figures is now refined until it becomes heroic grandeur and something like sweetness. In the early works of the Achilles painter the change is complete; his shepherd Euphorbus, who carries the infant Oedipus, has nothing of the realism of earlier shepherds. According to Buschor⁶ only his boots and his hair distinguish him from an aristocratic hunter, and we are reminded of Aristotle’s remark when he is discussing character-drawing:⁷ ‘even a slave can be good’.

Polygnotus and Sophocles (in the *Ajax*) are at the end of the first stage on the road to individual portraiture which starts with the *Suppliants* and Euphronius. Aeschylus’ Xerxes is as summarily sketched as Pindar’s athletes; his act of *hybris* is explained by youth, impetuosity, and evil

¹ *Aj.* 470.

² *Aj.* 545.

³ *Poet.* 1448^a1–5, 25.

⁴ 1450^a27.

⁵ See above, pp. 39, 41; cf. Beazley, *Kleophradesmaler*, 15–16.

⁶ *Ap.* Furtwangler-Reichhold, iii. 290 (cf. 292, 302) on Pfuhl, fig. 521.

⁷ 1454^a20.

companionship,¹ and Aeschylus desires no more. Eteocles in the *Septem* is more detailed: he is a king and a soldier, with a sense of discipline and a sense of honour, though somewhat realistic in his view of the gods. But the characterization is incomplete in so far as the change² which comes over both Eteocles and the chorus when the messenger speaks of Polynices is unexpected and unexplained. Eteocles is possessed by the Curse on the race and prepares to sacrifice everything to satisfy his hatred of his brother; the chorus change from frightened women to sane and sober counsellors. Similarly in the case of Clytemnestra questions may legitimately be asked to which Aeschylus has not provided the answers: how far is she actuated by her love for Aegisthus, and how far by her affection for Iphigenia, and does she believe in fact that she is possessed by the Curse of the house like Eteocles? The questions are irrelevant because Aeschylus is more interested in the operation of the divine laws of doing and suffering than in the personality of Clytemnestra; but to this extent Clytemnestra is incomplete.

About Ajax we know a great deal more than about any Aeschylean character. We see and hear of his relations to the gods, to his parents and child, to his wife, to his generals, and to his soldiers. We know both the good sides of his character, his readiness, valour, and affection, and the bad sides, his arrogance, insubordination, and inflexibility. In addition to Ajax, Odysseus modest and pious, the gentle Tecmessa, the boastful Menelaus, and the soldier Agamemnon are also individual characters. One scene, however, arouses the same doubts as Eteocles' sudden change in the *Septem*. The position which Ajax takes

¹ *Pers.* 744, 753. On development in Aeschylus see Snell, *op. cit.* 104 f.; Nestle, *op. cit.* 1 f.

² The change is marked by the messenger's repeated 'do you then resolve' (650-2), which shows that Eteocles hesitates and does not answer.

up in his monologue differs essentially both from his attitude to Tecmessa before and from the tone of the suicide speech later. For a short space he has learnt modesty by his sufferings and his statement is fundamentally true, though Sophocles has elaborated it because of its central position as the moral of the play. But the many different interpretations¹ which have been given show that for the modern ear at any rate the speech is not quite consistent with the 'probability'² of Ajax's character.

The loss of great painting has made the parallel development in art difficult to trace. Polygnotus was, according to Pliny,³ the first to open the mouths, show the teeth, and vary the formerly rigid character of the face. In fact all these things had been done by painters long before Polygnotus;⁴ but while in earlier painters they were the exception, in Polygnotus, the painter of ethos, they become the rule, as can be seen from the reflection of his painting in contemporary vases. The Niobid painter's Argonaut picture (Pl. 10)⁵ is closely connected with Polygnotan art, and Heracles is a character-portrait of the hero in a dark and severe mood. Here Heracles is mature, asserting his ideals among his comrades who have abandoned themselves to the luxuries of Lemnos.⁶ All this is expressed partly by the pose and partly by the lines of the face. The sculptor of the Lion metope at Olympia⁷ has given us a different portrait of Heracles. The strangling of the Nemean lion is the first of the twelve labours which are represented in the metopes. Heracles, still a beardless boy, stands with his right foot on the lion's body, his right hand supporting his

¹ See Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 96.

² 'Probability' was already used as an argument by the Sicilian rhetoricians. ³ O. 1075. ⁴ Cf. Girard, *Mon. Grecs*, 1897, 7.

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 492.

⁶ For interpretations see Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, 15.

⁷ Winter, 243, fig. 4.

head, tired after his labour and more tired still at the prospect of further labours.

Whereas in the ripe archaic period action had been the favourite subject, now artists and poets, wishing to display character, often choose the moment before, when motives can be seen, or the moment after, when the emotional reaction is clear.¹ Thus the Chicago painter (Pl. 12*b*)² paints the moment before Eriphyle accepts the necklace from Polynices. Her face is unexpressive; the character and emotion are conveyed by the poise of neck and shoulders, the contrast between stiff and free folds in the peplos, but above all by the hands, one held out to receive the necklace, the other stretched down in denial; the text of this drawing might be found in a fragment of Ion of Chios³—‘She is silent but hostile, and *yet* desires.’ Heracles has not yet started the fatal music-lesson in the Linus scene (Pl. 18*b*)⁴ by the Pistoxenus painter, which is dated to the first five years of the early classical period. He has close-cropped hair and a fierce eye; his cloak is slung scornfully over his shoulder; he walks with a spear instead of a walking-stick; the despised lyre is handed over to his aged nurse. In these two pictures the stage is set for the action; its course will be determined by the scornful anger of Heracles in the one scene, and the foreseen capitulation of Eriphyle in the other. In sculpture the East pediment of Olympia, designed by a younger sculptor than the violent West pediment, is the clearest example;⁵ the stage is set for the chariot-race and its course is determined by the piety of Pelops and the *hybris* of Oenomaus.

The story of the East pediment of Olympia is also told

¹ Cf. Beazley, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, 38. The Polygnotan Sack of Troy represented the moment after, the Battle of Oenoe (O. 1054) the moment before.

² Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, fig. 142.

³ 44, perhaps of Helen meeting Odysseus in Troy.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 471.

⁵ Winter, 240, fig. 2.

by Pindar in the First *Olympian*.¹ He chooses the moment when Pelops goes to the sea in the darkness and calls on Posidon to help him in his attempt to win Hippodamia. 'Great danger', says Pelops, 'does not overtake the weak. But since death is certain, why should a man sit purposelessly in the darkness, nursing his old age, without any share in honour? But I shall undertake this contest.' Three lines more in the abrupt and violent manner of the strong style complete the story. Pindar cares only for the decision which Pelops takes, and his motive for taking it. In tragedy too from the time of the *Suppliants*² the moment of decision is specially stressed. In the *Agamemnon*,³ Agamemnon makes two disastrous decisions: one is the scene enacted before the eyes of the audience when Clytemnestra persuades him to walk on the purple carpet, the other his decision to sacrifice Iphigenia. In the latter the scales are heavily weighted against Agamemnon, and the alternative to sacrificing his daughter is probably death, either by suicide or stoning; but the description leaves no doubt that Agamemnon chose wrong: 'His heart changed to the frenzy that stays at no crime.'⁴ The 'purple carpet' scene is a special case of the psychological spectacle, which has already been discussed,⁵ and the climax of the pageantry which began with Agamemnon's entry. Every figure is drawn into the contest, however different their individual emotions may be. Agamemnon's decision vitally affects himself and Clytemnestra; the chorus, as their next song shows, find in it the culmination of the anxiety which has from the beginning marred their joy; and Cassandra must see in Agamemnon's weakness the fulfilment of her foreboding. The scene is not unlike the East pediment of

¹ O. i. 67 f.² See above, p. 42.³ Ag. 905 f., 184 f.⁴ So we may paraphrase Ag. 221. In the *Ajax* two revealing speeches mark moments of decision, the first speech of Ajax (430) and the first speech of Teucer (992).⁵ See above, p. 58.



Niobid painter: Heracles and the Argonauts.

Olympia.¹ There too the contest between the chief characters is watched with different emotions by Sterope and Hippodamia, by the grooms, servants, and 'Alpheus' and 'Cladeus', all of whom form the Olympian chorus, and by the two seers who, like Cassandra, know the end.

In another scene of the same general type, the *kommos*² between Ajax, Tecmessa, and the chorus, which leads up to Ajax' first speech, the single figure of Ajax dominates the rest, who from their several points of view try to hearten and dissuade him. This scene too can be paralleled from art. The Niobid painter's Argonaut picture is dominated by the central figure of Heracles who under the guidance of Athena comes to reprimand the Argonauts for their idleness in Lemnos (Pl. 10);³ all are answering his call, some gladly, others reluctantly. Another Polygnotan picture of this kind was the Trial of Ajax, which may have been inspired by the *Locrian Ajax* of Sophocles.⁴ Some idea of it can be formed from Pausanias' description of the same scene in Polygnotus' Trojan picture at Delphi.⁵

'Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, his head bound with a fillet, is there, and by him Acamas, son of Theseus, with a helmet on his head. And there is a crest on his helmet. And Odysseus is there in his corslet. Ajax, the son of Oileus, with a shield stands by the altar, taking an oath for his attempt on Cassandra. Cassandra sits on the ground, holding the statue of Athena which she tore from its foundation when Ajax dragged her from her supplication. There are also the sons of Atreus with helmets on too. Menelaus has a shield with a snake on it because of the portent in Aulis. They are giving the oath to Ajax.'

We can imagine a group on the lines of the Argonaut picture, dominated by Ajax as the central figure, all the other figures in their different ways showing their interest in the proceedings.

¹ Winter, 240, fig. 2.

² *Aj.* 348.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 492.

⁴ Cf. Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 9.

⁵ O. 1054, 1050, A.I.

With these tableaux other scenes in literature and art can be contrasted where the interest is concentrated on a pair of figures only, who are bound together by sympathy or antipathy. Sometimes the two figures are not placed in direct contact, but the spectator must himself make the connexion and learn more of the one by the contrast with the other. Xerxes' youth and rashness are made more obvious by the wisdom and age of Darius, although they never meet.¹ The same end is achieved by the Pistoxenus painter when he adds the 'good boy' Iphicles as a foil to the 'bad boy' Heracles in his Linus scene (Pl. 18b).² In the *Ajax* Odysseus and Ajax are both seen in the prologue, and, though there is no contact between them, the juxtaposition points the contrast between the *hybris* of Ajax and the *sophrosyne* of Odysseus; the pious Pelops and the proud Oenomaus are similarly contrasted on the East pediment of Olympia.³

The contrast between characters is more strongly marked when they are in direct contact with each other. The first early classical scenes of the type are the two scenes between Eteocles and the chorus in the *Septem*,⁴ which show first the *sophrosyne*, and later the *hybris*, of Eteocles. The *Prometheus* has three such scenes (Hephaestus and Kratos, Prometheus and Oceanus, Prometheus and Hermes), and the *Ajax* four (Ajax and Tecmessa, Teucer and Menelaus, Teucer and Agamemnon, Odysseus and Agamemnon). The large number in the *Ajax* shows that such scenes are an important part of the new Sophoclean technique of character representation. Apart from its symbolism the Athena

¹ So Snell, *op. cit.* 75; cf. the contrasted champions in the *Septem*.

² Pfuhl, fig. 471; cf. the side pieces of the Ludovisi and Boston thrones, Winter, 238, figs. 2-5; von Salis, *op. cit.* 91.

³ Winter, 240, fig. 2; cf. contrasted groups of Acamas and Aethra, Menelaus and Helen, *Niobidemaler*, pl. 13a, and Polygnotus' Sack of Troy (O. 1050).

⁴ *Sept.* 181, 677.

and Marsyas group of Myron¹ represents a direct clash between the *sophrosyne* of the goddess and the *hybris* of the satyr. The Euaeon painter contrasts Theseus and Sciron on a cup,² which is well described by Schaal:

'Sciron sits with his left foot propped on a rock; with a speaking gesture he invites Theseus to perform the customary foot-washing for which the bronze basin has been prepared. The young hero stands before him, magnificently calm. Except for his wild hair the monster is quite civilized. With an amusing naïveté Theseus seems at first not to understand the meaning of the question. His whole figure rather than his gesture seems to ask, 'How can you expect me to do that?' The next moment Sciron will be thrown into the sea.'

All the scenes quoted from drama are scenes of persuasion, in which the strength of an Ajax or Prometheus is shown by his inflexibility. Similarly, on vases which have already been mentioned the Chicago painter shows the weakness of Eriphyle, and the Penthesilea painter the strength of Achilles (Pls. 12*b* and 7*b*).³ What distinguishes the Penthesilea cup from earlier renderings of the same and similar subjects, which are battle-scenes and nothing more, is this psychological element; as Achilles is killing Penthesilea his eyes meet her proud but imploring eyes; for a moment, until the deed is done and Achilles' companion calls him back to the fray, the two are alone and Achilles is filled with pity and wonder. The painter has caught the spirit both of Polygnotus and of contemporary tragedy.⁴

Another class of scenes is based on the sympathy between two characters; at the end of the *Ajax*⁵ Odysseus asks Teucer whether he may help in the burial of Ajax, and

¹ Winter, 253.

² Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, 70, pl. 36.

³ Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, fig. 142; Pfuhl, fig. 501.

⁴ The emotion which later Greeks sentimentalized as love is not unlike that of Odysseus when he sees the mad Ajax, *Aj.* 121: 'I am full of pity for his misery although he is my foe.'

⁵ *Aj.* 1376.

Teucer reluctantly refuses, and at the beginning Athena gives the pious Odysseus help and advice just as she does to the youthful Heracles in the Lion metope of Olympia.¹ The freeing of Theseus by the Alcimachus painter shows the same kind of sympathy. 'Theseus has been sitting for many days, heavy and hopeless and unshaven, on the Laughterless Stone; now Heracles is freeing him and he can hardly realize it. The two men's eyes meet, and Theseus' eyes have the look of a dumb beast's.'² The Achilles painter is a master of such scenes. His Departure³ is composed of the same figures, warrior, mother, father, and dog, as an earlier Departure by the Cleophrades painter.⁴ There the painter has expressed the different emotions of the characters, the pride of the mother, the grief of the father, but has not blended them to make one emotion which pervades the whole scheme. This the Achilles painter has done, partly by his treatment of the eyes, and partly by the pose of the son, who as he shakes his father's hand is already turning towards his mother.

The comparison of these two pictures measures the change in character-drawing during the early classical period. The figures lose their heaviness and severity for a kind of heroic sweetness, a quality which even Ajax shows, particularly when he speaks of his child.⁵ They become more detailed; we know more of Ajax than of Xerxes. And they work directly on one another; scenes of persuasion and advice occupy more and more of the play, and pictures are dominated by the emotion of the characters.

The new style is quieter than the strong style and admits once more beauty of colour and form, so that the atmosphere of Simonides' *Danae* and the Berlin painter's *Apollo* is revived.⁶ In Bacchylides Ionian realism survives without

¹ Winter, 243, fig. 4.

² Beazley, *I.A.* 136, fig. 85.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 524.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 373.

⁵ *Aj.* 558-9.

⁶ See above, p. 9; Simonides, 13 (cf. *Aj.* loc. cit.); *Berlinermaler*, pl. 25.

a break and in one of his later odes¹ Aegeus thus describes Theseus as he comes towards Athens: 'He says two men alone go with him. About his shining shoulders he has a sword (with ivory handle), and two polished spears in his hands and a close Laconian cap about his fiery-haired head, a purple tunic about his breast and a thick Thessalian cloak. And from his eyes flashes a red Lemnian flame. He is a boy in early youth.' It is a typical Ionian portrait full of colour and detail, and shows the same delight in description as Bacchylides' earlier account of a festival.²

In the same spirit Sophocles describes Medea, as she gathers magic herbs: 'She, turning her eyes back from her hand, takes the thick white sap dripping from the gash in a bronze box . . . the encircling vessels hide the severed roots which she, shouting, crying, ungirded, harvested with bronze hook.'³ The fragment is too short to give us the atmosphere of the scene, which evidently took place by night and perhaps reflected the sympathy between nature and man, found in several passages of Pindar:⁴ 'Phrastor hit the mark with the javelin, and Niceus hurled the stone further than all, circling his hand, and all the company cried aloud, and the lovely light of the fair-faced moon lit the evening.' The moon smiles on the victor, and the poet conveys a warmth of emotional feeling which is a legacy from the Ionian sensuous style. The nearest parallel in art is provided by the whiteground cups of the Sotades painter. The girl⁵ holding out her skirt as she stretches up on tiptoe to reach the apples at the top of the tree has often been compared to Sappho's apple-pickers,

¹ Bacchylides, xviii. 46.

² See above, p. 10. Pindar's Jason (*P.* iv. 78) is fiercer and more glittering.

³ *Rhizotomoi*, fr. 534. Fr. 535 contains an address to the Sun, i.e. it is early morning after the root-cutting.

⁴ *O.* x. 71; cf. *O.* i. 71; Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*, 49.

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 527; cf. his text.

and Sappho is in fact the distant ancestor of this naturalist style.

The immediate and lyrical quality of the apple-picker is partly due to the rhythmical beauty of the lines, particularly the echoing curves of overfall and skirt. Their graciousness has nothing to do with the hard angularity of 'strong' drawing; but recalls the drawing of older painters, like the Berlin painter, except that the sweetness of the old period is now combined with the freedom of the new. Many painters (Pl. 9) show this return to a sweeter rhythm; the Penthesilea painter's Tityus,¹ both in detail and in the rhythm of the whole composition, is far less angular than his Achilles and Penthesilea. Some of the best drawing of this period is put into the white lekythoi of the Achilles painter² and his fellows. On one by the Thanatos painter (Pl. 11a)³ a young man in a red cloak, with two spears, and a hat slung on his back, stands beside his tomb; on the other side a woman with one foot on the step of the stele has brought a tray of offerings. Apart from the emotional quality of the scene, its aesthetic appeal depends on the contrast between straight and curved lines—the straight lines of the youth's cloak and spear, of the stele and steps, and of the folds of the woman's dress, and the curved lines of the youth's hair, hat and limbs, of the tumulus, of the wreaths, and of the woman's back. A similar contrast between straight and curved lines can be seen in Myron's Discobolus (Pl. 13b),⁴ which is composed on the echoing angles of arms and legs, and the echoing curves of breast line, thorax, and groin. Some of the figures of the East pediment of Olympia⁵ also have the free and gracious rhythm of the new style.

A change of the same kind takes place in the language of

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 502 (cf. Diepolder, *Penthesileamaler*, 15).

² Pfuhl, figs. 522, 537-8.

³ Ibid., fig. 534.

⁴ Winter, 252.

⁵ Ibid., 241, figs. 2-4; see Curtius, op. cit. 312.

tragedy. Certain elements of the court style—the picture simile, decorative epithets, and mannerism in particular—though rare in Aeschylus, survive in Sophocles, who was certainly influenced by Bacchylides and Simonides, and probably also by Phrynichus,¹ although in the fragmentary state of our knowledge proof is impossible. In general the Sophoclean iambic verse, except where the poet is under the direct influence of Aeschylus, is less heavily charged and moves more easily than the Aeschylean; it has room to admit in a freer form the decorative conventions of the court style. Some passages in the *Ajax* have a beauty of pattern in thought and sound which is like in kind to the echoing lines and curves of contemporary draughtsmen. The short lament of Tecmessa over the body of Ajax is a noble example.²

‘Then let them laugh and rejoice in this misfortune. Perhaps, though they did not feel his want when he was alive, now that he is dead they may lament him in the need of battle. For fools do not recognize the good thing in their hands until they have lost it. His death is bitter to me as sweet to them, to himself joyful. For what he longed to win, he has gained for himself, death which he desired. Why then should they mock at him? He died to the gods, not to them, no. Therefore let Odysseus make his empty boasts. For them Ajax is no more, for me his passing has left grief and tears.’

In this passage the antitheses are used to give the whole a rhythm and a pattern which both enhance and restrain the emotion.

Aeschylus has writing of this kind in his later plays, notably in the iambics of the *Prometheus*,³ and part of a chorus from the *Agamemnon*⁴ may be quoted as a parallel to Tecmessa’s lament: ‘Ares the gold-changer, whose coin

¹ See above, p. 8.

² *Aj.* 961; cf. 271.

³ *P.V.* 437; cf. *Cho.* 124; *Eum.* 754; cf. Seewald, *Untersuchungen zu Aeschylus*, 39, on changes of style in Aeschylus.

⁴ *Ag.* 437.

is bodies and the spear his weigh-beam in the battle, sends home from Troy a few burnt ashes bitterly bewept, lading light urns with dust in exchange for men. They groan praising this man as skilled in battle, that man as falling honourably in the battle for another's wife.' The image of the gold-changer is pathetic rather than 'ecplectic'; the last sentence is shaped by the anaphora of 'this man, that man'.

In detail much of the charm is due to a free use of ripe archaic patternings.¹ Sophocles uses anaphora more than either Aeschylus or Pindar, and his parallel clauses are more carefully balanced than theirs. The strong style only needs the violent, pathetic anaphora of the lament,² but Sophocles shapes his speeches by anaphora and sometimes varies the pattern by substituting another word of the same meaning but different form:³ 'And now what shall I do? who plainly am *hateful* to the gods, *abhorred* by the Greek host, *bated* by all Troy and all these plains.' Triad grouping, of which this triple anaphora is an example, is exceedingly common in Sophocles;⁴ here the source is probably Homer,⁵ since Sophocles was regarded as the most Homeric of poets. Anaxagoras also uses triads;⁶ his style was regarded in antiquity as 'high-sounding and pleasant', and a modern critic has noted analogies in it to the style of Greek hymns.

Keywords are another legacy of the court style; occasionally in Pindar a word like Zeus runs through an ode,⁷

¹ Cf. above, p. 21 f.

² e.g. *Cho.* 406, 431, 436, 453. Therefore in Aeschylus anaphora is more common in lyrics than iambics.

³ *Aj.* 457 (tr. Jebb); cf. 815.

⁴ Cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Sophocles and the Perfect Number*.

⁵ Perhaps also the source of Empedocles' triads (2, 124), since Empedocles marks sections by Homeric repetition (8, 17, 84).

⁶ Anaxagoras, 4, 12; cf. Schmid-Stählin, ii. 718. 1; Deichgräber, *Philologus*, 1933, 347.

⁷ *P.* i. 7, 13, 29, 67; *I.* v (Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 203); *O.* x.



a. Thanatos painter: Scene at tomb.



b. Reed painter: Scene at tomb.

and in the *Persae*¹ the word 'golden' recurs four times in the opening anapaests to remind us of the essential quality of the old Persian civilization. Ajax' last speech² is divided into sections of rising emotion by the repeated invocations. Tecmessa ends her appeal to Ajax:³ 'If a man's memory slip when he has fared well, he could no longer be noble.' The gnome marks the end of the speech, besides reflecting the general views and therefore the personality of Tecmessa. Influence of the sophists⁴ may rightly be seen in the increasing use of proverbs and apophthegms by Sophocles as compared with Aeschylus, but their formal purpose is to give definition to the speech.

The typical sentence of the classical style has the same ease and shapeliness as the whole speech. The Pindaric period has little form and often runs off into a string of relative clauses or comes back to a main sentence with parataxis.⁵ The Aeschylean period is definite in its forms: the clauses begin or end with words that point backwards or forwards; when the period becomes too long, it starts again with a clause or phrase which repeats the beginning.⁶ The Sophoclean period is easier and freer:⁷ 'For learning of his coming from afar, they stood round him in a circle, then belaboured him with reproaches from this side and that, every man of them, calling him brother of the madman, the conspirator against the army, that nothing should avail him from being torn to death by stones.' The ancestry of the smoothly flowing period is Ionian; a single sentence runs through Timocreon's attack on Themistocles⁸ from the first verse to the last.

Classical composition on a large scale has the same general shapeliness, while allowing considerable freedom

¹ Cf. *Eum.* 492 (justice); *P.V.* 399, 477, 700 (with Thomson's notes).

² *Aj.* 831; cf. 171 (rumour), 1201 (delight).

³ *Aj.* 523; cf. 473.

⁴ Schmid-Stählin, ii. 287. 1.

⁵ *O.* i. 46; ii. 61.

⁶ *Pers.* 355, 361.

⁷ *Aj.* 723.

⁸ Timocreon, 1; cf. Bacchylides, ii, vi.

to the parts within the whole. The *Prometheus Vincitus* combines the new and the old. The narratives in the Io scene are cast into an elaborate scheme to enhance their emotional effect, but the play as a whole has the free symmetry characteristic of the new classical style.¹ The Io scene is the centre-piece; prologue and conclusion are both marked by violent action; Oceanus' appeal to Prometheus is balanced by Hermes' appeal to Prometheus; Prometheus' speeches about his kindness to men correspond to his last speech about the future. The symmetry is not accurate or restrictive, but the play is held together by a loose balance of the earlier by the later parts. Similarly, in the *Ajax* the prologue is balanced by the last scene and the balance marked by the presence of Odysseus. The two early lyric dialogues correspond to the two late debates, the first entry of the chorus to their second entry, the first stasimon to the third. This external symmetry gives the play a plan within which the scenes can be developed.

The East pediment of Olympia² is sometimes said to be more archaic in composition than the West, and in fact the sculptor has abandoned the line of force of the strong style for the older symmetry of balancing groups. But the symmetry is not so exact as in the Aegina pediments;³ the pairs of heroic figures on either side of Zeus differ essentially from one another; a boy kneels before the horses on the left and a girl on the right; the end groups also do not closely correspond. In the Niobid painter's Argonaut picture (Pl. 10),⁴ which reflects the composition of a large fresco, the figures are grouped in free symmetry about the central Heracles. Compositionally, the centre of the picture is not Heracles alone, but the triangle formed by

¹ The symmetry of the *Septem* is stricter (Seewald, *op. cit.* 56). In both plays (and in the first act of the *Choephori*) the plan of the whole is determined by the large and emotional centre-piece.

² Winter, 240, fig. 2.

³ *Ibid.* 222.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 492.

Heracles and the two figures beneath him. On either side the balancing groups are marked off by the slanting spears. The helmeted warrior balances the figure holding out his helmet; Athena and the figures behind her balance the bearded warrior and the young man with his horse.

In works on a smaller scale the same freedom within a general scheme can be observed. Where the strong style pursues asymmetry, the classical style has symmetrical groupings of two and three figures with the grace but without the formality of ripe archaic scenes.¹ Where the artist working in the strong style binds his figures tightly together into a compact pyramid, the classical artist uses the pyramid as the scheme of such gracious compositions as the 'mourning' Athena (Pl. 13*a*) and the spear-bearing Achilles.²

CONCLUSION

Although the dominant style of the early classical period is the strong style, the older styles of the sixth century survive alongside it in Athens, and particularly in the West. The later poems of Bacchylides do not differ from the earlier. They have the realistic description of the sensuous style, the decorative adjectives, defined transitions, and paratactic sentences of the sophisticated style. The Ludovisi throne arises from the same artistic tradition as the reliefs from the Themistoclean wall. And in Athens the Pan painter develops further the mannerism of the Pisistratid period.

The aim of the strong style itself is interpretation rather than observation. The triumph of *sophrosyne* over *hybris* had been tremendously illustrated by the Persian wars. In the plays of Aeschylus, the odes of Pindar, the sculpture of

¹ e.g. Beazley, *V.A.*, fig. 97 (Euaeon ptr.). Pfuhl, figs. 516 (Villa Giulia ptr.), 524 (Achilles ptr.), repeat the ripe archaic uneven composition. See above, p. 27.

² Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, fig. 85; F.R. iii. 293.

Olympia, and the Amazonomachies and Gigantomachies of contemporary painting the story is treated as an example of the triumph of *sophrosyne* over *hybris*. The technique of poet and artist is directed to taking his audience by storm (*ekplexis*); to this end the poet uses spectacle, imagery, and magnificence, and the artist, spectacle, magnificence, violence, and angularity. The satirical realism of the sensuous style is called into service as a foil to magnificence, and the formal elaboration of the sophisticated style is sometimes used as an additional means of convincing the audience.

In many ways the new classical style, which can be seen in Sophocles' *Ajax*, in the later parts of the Olympia sculptures, and in the vases of the Achilles painter, is a return to the style of the ripe archaic period, which had in fact never died. The best elements of the sensuous, sophisticated, and simple styles—sunny realism, linear economy, and a moderate use of ripe archaic patterning—recur in the new style. The avoidance of Ionian cleverness and formalism is due to the schooling of the strong style. The interest has shifted from *hybris* and *sophrosyne* to characters and motives, and the drawing of characters must be based on observation and appreciation, an attitude essentially akin to the old Ionian attitude.

III. THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

THE next quarter of a century can be named the classical period because in it those works of literature and art were produced which are regarded as most typical of ancient Greece, such as the Parthenon and the *Oedipus Tyrannus*; it is dominated by the figure of Pericles. After 420 and particularly in the last ten years of the century tendencies which can already be seen in many classical works come to the surface and colour both art and literature. The dividing line can conveniently be drawn after the first stage of the Peloponnesian war.

The period begins with the signing of a thirty years' peace with Sparta. In less than fifteen years war was declared. This first war settled nothing, and the peace of 421 left both sides much as they were before. But, although neither art nor literature shows the effects of war to any large extent, two events of the opening years, the plague and the death of Pericles, hastened the change from the old to the new. The essentials of democracy, equality of rights and equality of opportunity, had been achieved by 445, but democracy, as long as Pericles lived, was 'in theory democracy, in fact the rule of the first citizen'.¹ When Pericles died, the leadership passed to any self-seeking demagogue who could outbid his fellows in winning the people's favour. Our view of the later democracy is no doubt partly coloured by the denunciations of Aristophanes, and the very real opposition to Pericles is less easily apprehended. Yet, although Pericles was justifiably hated by the aristocrats, he steered on the whole a stable and moderate course. After his death Athenian policy

¹ Thuc. ii. 65. 9.

showed the caprice and irresponsibility which Plato¹ regarded as characteristic of democracy.

The plague had a direct effect on Athenian morality. 'Fear of god and law of man had no preventive force. Seeing all perish alike they judged there was no difference between piety and impiety, and no one expected to live until a trial in which they should pay the penalty for their crimes.'² Thucydides is describing the immediate reaction to the plague. In the next year the Theban elders in the *Tyrannus*, looking out of their historical setting at contemporary Athens, sing of those who make unjust gains and cannot stay their hands from impiety;³ 'if such practices are held in honour, why should I dance?' The plague hastened the development of a new view of life based no longer on the fear of the gods and *sophrosyne* but on self-seeking and unscrupulousness. Both Anaxagoras and Protagoras had their part in its formation, and both were in Athens before 445.⁴ From 440 the influence of the sophists can be clearly traced, and in spite of their undoubted services to the sciences of politics and aesthetics their influence was demoralizing because they destroyed existing moral standards.

THE OLD VIEW

The two passages already quoted from Thucydides and Sophocles show that the thought of the time moves between the religion and morality of the preceding period on the one hand, and scepticism and contempt on the other. In the early classical period itself the gods became less terrifying and remote.⁵ The gods and goddesses of the classical period lack something of the awesome majesty of their immediate predecessors; they are more human and more natural.⁶ Zeus as described by Sophocles in the

¹ *Republic*, 557.

² Thuc. ii. 53. 4.

³ *O.T.* 895.

⁴ See above, p. 47. ⁵ See above, p. 54. ⁶ Cf. Curtius, op. cit. 306.

*Antigone*¹ is splendid and invincible; but Sophocles insists on his brightness, where before Pindar had stressed his power.² The beauty of Phidias' Zeus at Olympia 'added something to the received religion',³ and was inspired by lines from the *Iliad* in which the god made Olympus quake by his nod.⁴ Our conception of Phidian divinities is founded on the gods and goddesses of the Parthenon frieze,⁵ Roman copies of his Athena Parthenos and of other statues which were carved by his school (Pl. 13c),⁶ and reflections of his art on contemporary vases.⁷ Majesty and dignity these figures certainly have, but with their dignity a benevolence; they are more akin to the Athena of the Olympia metopes than to the Apollo of the West pediment.⁸

Three very different descriptions of different acts of worship show the cheerful service which the gods require. The earliest is the Panathenaic procession on the frieze of the Parthenon. Riders, chariots, elders, musicians, attendants with sacrificial animals, maidens with offerings proceed in joyous congress to the Acropolis; their coming is watched by Zeus and Athena and the other great gods and goddesses, and the festival culminates in the ceremonial folding of the peplos. The second description comes from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Hippolytus has returned from hunting and dedicates a wreath to Artemis.⁹ As he places the wreath on the statue, he says: 'To thee, Lady, I bring this plaited garland, having decked it from an untrodden meadow, where no shepherd dares to feed his sheep and where no iron has come, but through the untrodden meadow the spring bee passes and Reverence waters it with

¹ 604.² P. ii. 49; see above, p. 54.³ S.J. 113.⁴ S.J. 112.⁵ Winter, 274-6.⁶ Ibid. 246, Parthenos; 247, fig. 5, Zeus; 248, fig. 2, Demeter; 248, fig. 3, Persephone.⁷ e.g. Lycaon ptr., Pfuhl, fig. 515; Cleophon ptr., Pfuhl, fig. 767.⁸ Winter, 240-4.⁹ *Hipp.* 73.

river dew. . . . But, dear Lady, take from my pure hand this wreath for your golden hair.' The third description is in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes.¹ Dicaeopolis has made peace and celebrates the rural Dionysia. 'Lord Dionysus, may it be to your pleasure that I make this procession and sacrifice with my household, may my rural Dionysia bring me luck.' Then he sends out his daughter in all her finery to carry the basket; his slave follows holding the phallus pole; he walks last, singing the phallus song while his wife watches from the roof. The several acts of worship performed by the old countryman, the young noble, and the people of Athens have in common the joy and faith of the performers.

The gods govern the world by laws, which are 'unwritten but sure, not for to-day or yesterday, but for all time' and 'born in the heavenly aether'.² Whatever happens is ascribed to the gods. If it is bad, it is accepted with resignation. If it is good, the credit is given not to the human, but to the divine authors. The Trachinian women, who have seen the triumph and suicide of Deianira and the tortured agony of Heracles, end the play with the words, 'None of these things is not Zeus'.³ When Herodotus decides that the salvation of Greece in the Persian wars was due primarily to the Athenians, he adds significantly 'after the gods'.⁴

One of the divine laws is that nothing very big comes into human life without disaster.⁵ It is a restatement of the early classical theory of *hybris* and *sophrosyne*. Excess of wealth or strength or intellect puts a man into the danger zone; therefore he must cultivate *sophrosyne*, modesty and wise self-restraint. 'Wisdom (= modesty) is far the first part of happiness. There must be no irreverence towards

¹ *Ach.* 247.

² *Ant.* 454; *O.T.* 865.

³ *Trach.* 1278.

⁴ *vii.* 139. 5.

⁵ *Ant.* 604 f.; cf. *Hdt.* *vii.* 203. 2 on the Persians.



a. Pan painter: Artemis and Actaeon.



b. Chicago painter: Polymnos and Euphyle.

the gods. The great words of the proud pay a toll of great blows and teach wisdom in old age.¹

The sculptured decoration of the Parthenon, which was conceived before 445, but executed during the first fifteen years of the classical period, is designed to instil this truth. Pediments and frieze illustrate the benefits conferred by the gods on Athens and the Athenian service to their goddess, and the metopes preach *sophrosyne*. The theme of the West pediment is picked up by the Pandora scene on the base of the gold and ivory cult-statue of Athena; the reliefs inside and outside her shield and on her sandals echo the themes of the Eastern, Western, and Southern metopes.

The Eastern metopes² show the battle between the gods and giants. Arrogance causes the fall of the giants.³ On the heroic level Capaneus provides an exact parallel to Typhon, and Sophocles attributes his similar end to a similar vaunting.⁴ On the human level Herodotus gives the same explanation of the fall of Croesus. 'After Solon's departure a great nemesis from god laid hold on Croesus, as I conjecture, because he thought himself the most prosperous of all men.'⁵ Pride led Croesus to infatuation, and he failed to criticize the oracle when he was told that by crossing the Halys he should ruin a mighty empire. In the end he recognized that the fault was not Apollo's but his own.⁶ In Croesus the whole cycle is completed; his 'misfortunes have been a lesson to him',⁷ and he becomes the trusted counsellor of Cyrus. The Centauromachy on the Southern and the Amazonomachy on the Western metopes of the Parthenon also illustrate the triumph of *sophrosyne* over *hybris*.⁸

On the North side the metopes are filled with scenes

¹ *Ant.* 1347. ² For details see Fraschniker, *Parthenonstudien*, 142.

³ *P.V.* 360; cf. above, p. 56. ⁴ *Ant.* 128. ⁵ *Hdt.* i. 34. 1.

⁶ *Hdt.* i. 91. 6; cf. 127. 2, Astyages; 159. 4, the Cymaeans.

⁷ *Hdt.* i. 207. 1.

⁸ See above, pp. 54, 55.

from the Trojan war, enacted under the eyes of the gods,¹ so that the Greek victory like their later victory in the Persian war should be ascribed to the gods. Herodotus says of the Trojans² that 'god arranged that their utter destruction should make it clear to men that great crimes are visited by the gods with great punishments'. Troy was ruined because of the lack of *sophrosyne* in Paris, and in the city which defended Paris. In Euripides' *Hecuba*³ the aged queen draws the moral: 'Truly we are come to nothing. Yet we are so proud, one of us in his rich halls, another in his honourable name among his people. But they are nothing at all, the contriving of our minds and the boasts of our tongues.'

In the series of metopes several scenes were represented; two were scenes of filial piety, the saving of Aethra and the saving of Anchises. Filial piety is part of *sophrosyne*.⁴ In another metope Menelaus spared Helen, not out of pity or chivalry, but because he is again conquered by love. Royal houses where the ordinary restraints of poverty and law are absent are particularly liable to excess of passion. Some of the early plays of Euripides illustrated this theme.⁵ In the *Medea* the nurse tells the Corinthian women:⁶

Rude are the wills of princes: yea,
Prevailing alway, seldom crossed,
On fitful winds their moods are tossed:
'Tis best men tread the equal way. . . .

But the fiercely great
Hath little music on his road,
And falleth, when the hand of God
Shall move, most deep and desolate.

¹ The metopes should be read from right to left, i.e. the gods come first (Picard, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1935, 175).

² Hdt. ii. 120. 5.

³ *Hec.* 622.

⁴ e.g. *Ant.* 635.

⁵ e.g. *Hipp.* 252; *Andr.* 866; *Sthenoboea*, prol. 33.

⁶ *Med.* 119, tr. Murray.

The legendary scenes of sculpture and verse and the historical scenes of Herodotus are designed as warnings against *hybris* and admonitions to *sophrosyne*. The ideal of modesty is akin to the way of life which the philosopher Democritus calls *euthymia* or cheerfulness: 'He who will live in cheerfulness must not be overbusy either in private or in public, nor in his actions exceed his own powers and capability (*physis*). But he should keep watch so that when good fortune comes and leads him towards excess by its seeming, he may lay it aside and not grasp more than he can hold. Sufficiency is safer than superfluity.'¹

The poets of the old comedy show the everyday application of this way of life. 'How sweet a flower of modesty is on your words', is the comment of the chorus of Aristophanes' *Clouds* when the Just Argument has described the Old Education.² The Just Argument tells the young Phidippides: 'You will learn to hate the market-place and avoid the baths . . . and do nothing dishonourable because you are moulding an image of Honour . . . but you will go to the Academy and run under the olives, crowned with white rushes, with a modest friend, redolent of bryony and peace and white poplar.'³ It is an education for the body and the character, the education of the aristocratic youth.⁴

From the early plays of Aristophanes it is clear that in his mind a return to the old education would carry with it peace in Greece and opportunity to return to the peaceful life of the country.⁵ Such conditions existed according to Aristophanes in the time of the Marathon generation.⁶ Cratinus, perhaps because his memory was longer than Aristophanes', harks back to the days of Solon. Both poets

¹ Democritus, 3; cf. 191.

² *Clouds*, 1025.

³ *Ibid.* 991, 994, 1005.

⁴ Cf. Aristophanes, *Kts.* 1382; Teleclides, 26 (*Prytanies*).

⁵ Particularly *Acharnians*, *Farmers*, and *Peace*. Cf. Euripides, *Erechtheus*, fr. 369.

⁶ *Kts.* 1324; *Clouds*, 986.

sketch an ideal life, when men were simple and restrained—‘their greatest oath in any speech was ‘dog’ and then ‘goose’, and they did not mention the gods’.¹ Their life had a certain dignity and a certain formality. ‘Soft thyme or rose or lily sat by my ear. I spoke with an apple and a stick in my hand.’ The rejuvenated Demos of the *Knights* is ‘bright in his ancient splendour’,² like the men who were painted by the Berlin painter and his colleagues.

(a) *The Early Classical Style*

The lesson of *sophrosyne* had been preached in the first half of the century by the ‘shock tactics’ of realism, violence, and magnificence. With Sophocles a newer method comes in; the emphasis shifts from spectacle to character-drawing, and the violence and magnificence of the early classical style give place to the definition and clarity of the classical. But Aeschylus had been dead little more than ten years when our period begins and much of the early classical technique survives, and not only survives, but serves as a foundation for the new emotional style which begins in the classical period. In Aeschylus minor figures such as the nurse of the *Choephori* are so realistically represented as to be almost caricatures. The watchman of the *Antigone* is in the same tradition. He explains at length all his searchings of heart. He quibbles with Creon, and he has a maxim ready phrased for every event.³ After the *Antigone* Sophocles is hardly affected by this tradition. But the nurse in the *Hippolytus* belongs to the same line. When Phaedra cries romantically for water from a country spring, the nurse says that if she wants to drink, there is a running spring by the wall. And when Phaedra pathetically remembers the misfortunes of her mother and sister, the nurse tells her not to abuse her family. Her final sum-

¹ Cratinus, 231, from the *Chiron*s.

² Ibid. 239 (*Chiron*s); *Kts.* 1331.

³ *Ant.* 223, 317, 388.

ming up of the situation is coarse and direct: 'You don't need words, but the man.'¹

The guard of the *Antigone* and the nurse of the *Hippolytus* are not far from the caricatures of comedy. In the comedies of our period abuse of great political figures is abundant. Cratinus² calls Pericles 'a squill-headed Zeus with the Odeum on his head'. The abuse is extended to the great intellectual figures of the day. According to Eupolis the sophist Protagoras³ 'tells lies about heaven, the sinner, and eats the things of earth'. Aristophanes in the *Clouds* chose Socrates to represent the sophists, although it was an unfair choice; but Socrates was an Athenian and his remarkable appearance would be known to his fellow townsmen. The comic poets have a swift eye for anything remarkable in body or face, as their treatment of Pericles shows. In the *Banqueters* Aristophanes calls the town boy 'smooth as an eel, with golden curls'.⁴ No doubt contemporary artists painted slashing caricatures in the same manner. The lively and amusing little figures of the Boston phiale painter (Pl. 18a)⁵—a dancer with castanets, a girl being taught to dance, and a pair of tragic actors dressing—do something to fill the gap in our evidence; but we know more of violent realism than of caricature.

The violence which characterizes the West pediment of Olympia⁶ is found again in the metopes of the Parthenon (Pl. 16a);⁷ on one of the Southern metopes the Lapith is being hurled backwards over a fallen jar, and on several the figures cut into the frame. In the Suitor-Slaying by the Penelope painter⁸ one suitor has been shot in the back as

¹ *Hipp.* 225, 340, 490.

² Cratinus, fr. 71 (*Thracian Women*); cf. 108 (*Nemesis*), 240 (*Chirons*).

³ Eupolis, fr. 146 (*Flatterers*). ⁴ Fr. 218; cf. *Ach.* 964; *Clouds*, 102.

⁵ Beazley, *V.A.*, figs. 103, 105, 104.

⁶ Winter, 240, fig. 3; see above, p. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.* 268-9; cf. 278-9 (*Theseum*).

⁸ Pfuhl, fig. 559.

he tries to rise from the couch, and another has seized a table as a shield against the arrows of Odysseus. The famous artist Parrhasius,¹ probably towards the end of this period, painted two pictures in the violent style: in one 'a hoplite running in the race seems to sweat', in the other a hoplite is putting down his arms and 'his panting can be felt'. The violent staccato of repeated words, asyndeton, and short sentences² is still used to express the emotion of the speaker whether the emotion be grief, or anger, or joy.³ It is used for excited description,⁴ and for philosophical enunciation; Ion of Chios⁵ begins his *Triagmos* with a solemnity reminiscent of Heraclitus and Pindar: 'The beginning of my words. All things are three and nothing more or less than three. Each man's force a triad; intelligence and power and fortune.'

Classical artists and poets use violence and magnificence when they are needed to secure a particular effect and not as the normal decoration of their style. Aeschylus⁶ often composed heavy lines of three or four words to give his play a solemn and awe-inspiring tone. Now such lines only appear when the audience are to be made aware of the solemnity of the moment and the dignified language helps them. Let us take two rather different instances. In Euripides' *Suppliants*⁷ Theseus summons his forces: 'Now shall speed each armed hero and rider of the car, the brasses of our steeds shall stir, their mouths drip foam on the Cadmeian land.' Theseus defies the Theban herald, and Euripides stresses the solemnity of the moment by recalling the phraseology of Aeschylus.

The language is commonly heightened in messenger

¹ O. 1715.

² See above, p. 69.

³ *Grief*: Eur. *Hipp.* 812 (cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 148); *Suppl.* 71. *Anger*: Soph. *O.T.* 387. *Joy*: Soph. *Ant.* 1146.

⁴ Gorgias, 11^a 11; Hdt. i. 11. 4.

⁵ Ion, 1 (Diels-Kranz).

⁶ See above, p. 66.

⁷ *Suppl.* 585.

speeches that the audience may feel the emotional effect of a scene which they cannot see. In the *Alcestis*¹ the servant describes Alcestis' farewell to her house and household; Murray translates one line: 'And wet with flooding tears was that fair coverlet', but no English can fully represent the dignity of the three-word line in Greek. Prose-writers obtain a similar effect by so arranging or choosing the words that an obvious verse rhythm occurs at the beginning or end of sentence or clause. According to ancient theory² Thrasy-machus invented the use of rhythm in prose, and even in the one rather quiet passage that survives the iambic rhythms of the first sentence and the bacchiac cretic ending of the second³ are remarkable. There are traces of this eclectic use of rhythm already in Herodotus.⁴

If any painting on a large scale survived, we should know more of the magnificent style in art. Pliny applies the word 'magnificus' to the Zeus of Zeuxis, but we do not know the exact connotation of the word in his Greek source.⁵ Some of the sculptured figures of the time, for instance the Procne attributed to Alcamenes,⁶ merit the epithet. The particular kind of ornamental and rather flat drapery which is characteristic of the style in the works of the Niobid painter and his contemporaries survives in a faded form on vases by the Cleophon painter.⁷ Probably as in literature magnificence is now only used for special effects.

Early classical metaphor and imagery, besides being part of the magnificent decoration,⁸ illuminated the subject and thereby stirred the audience's emotion. In the classical

¹ *Alc.* 184, ὀφθαλμοτέγκτω δαίνεται πλημμυρῶναι.

² Thrasy-machus, A. 11, 12; B. 1.

³ Cf. Antiphon, v. 7; i. 20.

⁴ See Aly, *Volksmärchen*, 106; e.g. Hdt. vii. 10. η.

⁵ O. 1659.

⁶ Winter, 282, fig. 1.

⁷ Pfuhl, figs. 558, 767; see above, p. 66.

⁸ Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 159; Eur. *Alc.* 797.

period this use, including the changing light of mixed metaphor,¹ survives. Classical writers also put the image beside the original without stating that they are drawing a comparison, but the connexion is always more intelligible and less startling than in Pindar, and Euripides² often marks off such images by some special introduction, e.g. an invocation. *Hybris* still evokes striking imagery; in the *Tyrannus*³ she is the rash climber who scales the peak only to fall headlong down the precipice where there is no foothold. Aristophanes⁴ describes education as 'moulding a statue of Honour', and the phrase is undoubtedly meant to stick in the minds of his audience, like the picture in the *Acharnians* of War as an unruly reveller who breaks into a party and smashes up the house. We are told that Pericles was the one orator who could leave a sting in his hearers;⁵ and the sting, it appears from the few surviving quotations, was a striking image which would always be remembered; thus he said of the Athenians who had fallen in battle: 'The spring has gone out of the year.'

A particular kind of striking imagery is found in Herodotus, the symbolic action. When Thrasybulus wants to send a message to Periander, he takes Periander's messenger into a field and lops off all the outstanding heads of corn; the messenger reports this action to Periander and Periander understands that the tyrant must remove all the outstanding men in the State.⁶ The symbolical action of Thrasybulus is the whole of Thrasybulus' argument; he does not enforce his point by logical reasoning. In the same way Leotychidas, when dissuading the Athenians from breaking their oath, tells the story of the Spartan

¹ Soph. *Trach.* 203; Eur. *Med.* 187.

² *Med.* 516; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 474; Ion, 36, 38, 53.

³ O.T. 875.

⁴ *Clouds.* 995; *Ach.* 979.

⁵ Eupolis, 94 (*Demes*); Ar. *Rhet.* 1411^a2.

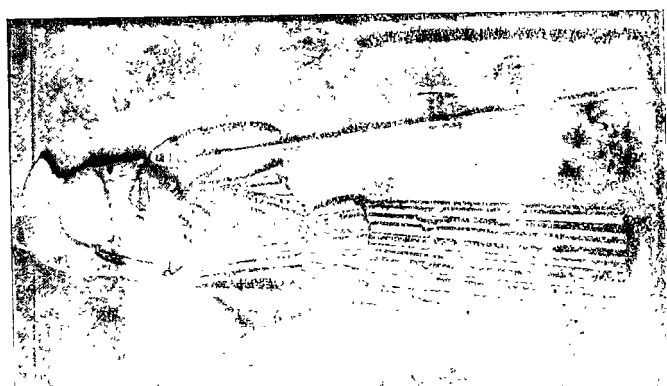
⁶ Hdt. v. 92. 3. 2; cf. i. 141; ii. 172. 3.



c. Demeter of Cherkel.



b. Myron: Discobolus.



a. 'Mourning' Athena.

Glaucus and his fate, and this story fills the whole of his speech. Herodotus¹ ends his history with a last striking picture: Cyrus warns the Persians that life in a comfortable land means the life of the subject and not the life of the conqueror.² It is the moral of the Persian war and perhaps Herodotus wants his audience to feel that it may be the moral of the Peloponnesian war.

For the tragic poet the place of past history is supplied by the corpus of heroic legend; the figures of legend are known quantities by which the hero or heroine can be measured. Deianira, whose name means husband-destroyer, and who did in fact destroy her husband, may well have been a second Clytemnestra in some version of the story before the *Trachiniae*. Although Heracles interprets her conduct in this way, Sophocles conceived her differently, and by several reminiscences of the *Oresteia* marks her divergence from the Clytemnestra type.³

Spectacle is at all times one of the methods of eclectic art. The two earlier plays of Sophocles, the *Antigone* and *Trachiniae*, are clearly in the early classical tradition; but in the *Tyrannus* there is only one kommos, and the only spectacular scenes are the prologue and the entry of the blinded Oedipus; spectacle is used more sparingly and only at the most important moments. Euripides, however, continued to stage spectacles, and the *Suppliants*, which must be one of the latest plays in the classical period, is also one of the most spectacular. It opens with the tableau of the women making supplication to Aethra. Later the bodies of the dead warriors are brought upon the stage. Then Evadne commits suicide by leaping from a rock into the pyre of Capaneus. Then the bones of the dead warriors are brought by a procession of their children, who form a subsidiary chorus, and the play ends with an epiphany of

¹ Hdt. vi. 86.

² Hdt. ix. 122.

³ Cf. *Greek Poetry and Life*, 177; see above, p. 64.

Athena. Here again Euripides returns to the early classical tradition and produces a play with the same sort of appeal as the *Eumenides*.

It goes without saying that spectacle played a considerable part in comedy. The most spectacular scenes during this period are probably the 'thinking shop' with its maps and apparatus in the *Clouds*, and the flight of Trygaeus and the raising of Peace in the *Peace*. In contemporary painting we hear of an 'Ajax struck by a thunderbolt' by Apollodorus, and of a 'tortured Prometheus' and a 'healing of Telephus' by Parrhasius.¹ There is also a remarkable vase-painting of Actaeon² by the Lycaon painter. The simple and grand scheme of the Pan painter's rendering has now become much more complicated and spectacular (Pl. 12a).³ Artemis, standing on the right with her torch, is balanced by Zeus standing on the left with a thunderbolt. From Zeus a female figure runs towards Actaeon; she is labelled Madness and the dog's head rising above her head shows that she is inspiring the dogs, just as the antlers rising on Actaeon's forehead show the form that their madness takes. The vase reflects a picture that must have been terrifying to spectators who accepted its particular assumptions.

The survival of early classical technique can also be seen in the plot construction, character-drawing, and texture of early classical tragedy. While in the *Tyrannus* the framework of the play is made clear by the oracle reported in the prologue, the prologue of the *Antigone* leaves the audience in little doubt as to the death of Antigone, but says nothing of the future discomfiture of Creon, just as the prologue of the *Agamemnon* contains no hint of the later part of the play. Euripides does not always follow the classical method of preparation, even in plays which are dated later than the *Tyrannus*. The prologue of the *Andromache* only prepares

¹ O. 1641, 1703, 1707.

² Pfuhl, fig. 515.

³ Ibid., fig. 475.

us for the first part of the play. It is part of his technique to startle the audience by giving the plot an unexpected twist due to the arrival of a new character whose coming has not been prepared, but is found to be fully motivated.¹

Aeschylus² felt no need to relate the real duration of the action to the duration of the action on the stage, nor does Sophocles in his early plays. In the *Trachiniae* a hundred lines³ are sufficient space for Lichas to go from Trachis to Euboea, for Heracles to put on the fatal robe, and for Hyllus to return with the news; but in the *Tyrannus* and later plays Sophocles allowed no such glaring unreality of time. Euripides on the other hand in the *Sthenoboea*⁴ made Bellerophon journey from Tiryns to Caria and back, and then from Tiryns to Melos and back; Amphitheus hardly goes faster in the *Acharnians*.⁵

The character of Ajax⁶ is difficult to interpret because his whole outlook suddenly changes. The same difficulty arises in the *Antigone* and *Trachiniae*. Has Antigone really changed her whole attitude in her last speech? When did Deianira make up her mind to send the poisoned robe to Heracles? In his later plays Sophocles becomes more realistic in representing character development. But Euripides likes the glaring contrast of a sudden change; the confident and proud Hermione of the *Andromache* becomes a nervous wreck when her father deserts her.

In the earliest Greek tragedy the metrical texture is more varied and therefore the contrasts less sharp than later. In the classical tragedy of Sophocles iambic speeches and lyric choruses stand in the sharpest opposition. In the *Antigone* the break is still softened by the anapaests,

¹ e.g. Aegaeus in the *Medea*, Orestes in the *Andromache*, Agamemnon in the *Hecuba*.

² Agamemnon arrives from Troy in the course of the *Agamemnon*.

³ *Trach.* 632-731.

⁴ Pohlenz, *Gr. Tr.* 286.

⁵ *Ach.* 175.

⁶ See above, p. 77.

recited by the chorus leader after three of the choruses, a survival of the early classical manner. But Euripides uses anapaests far more than Sophocles. In the *Medea* the prologue starts as usual in iambics, which are followed by an anapaestic dialogue between Medea and the nurse. The chorus then enter to recited anapaests followed by further anapaests from Medea and the nurse. The chorus sing a lyric strophe; Medea and the nurse sing anapaests; the chorus sing the antistrophe; the nurse sings anapaests; the chorus sing a lyric epode. Then Medea speaks iambics. The sharp contrast which the purely choral parodoi of the *Trachiniae* and *Tyrannus* make with the spoken iambics of the prologue and first act is avoided by the introduction of recited anapaests among the lyrics. Euripides¹ is feeling his way back to the more varied, and therefore less sharply differentiated texture of Aeschylus, and here again shows that the strong style not only survives but gains new life in the classical period.

(b) *The Classical Style*

Two different types of character correspond to the different ways of life, which are representative of this period. Sophocles expressed the difference by saying that he created the sort of people one ought to create and Euripides created the sort of people that are.² He is an idealist, and Euripides a realist. Sophocles demands the piety and *sophrosyne* of the 'old education'. His idealism consists in creating characters who in the main conform to its standards and whose divergences, where they diverge, are clearly marked.

The art of the classical period is ideal. The one surviving portrait, the bust of Pericles—a copy of the original by Cresilas—is dignified and solemn; the individual features

¹ In the *Hecuba* he twice allows overlap of sense from verse to verse of the chorus, *Hec.* 647, 943; cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 177.

² *Ar. Poet.* 1460^b33.

are softened, and the excessive length of Pericles' head, which gave the comic poets so many jests, is concealed by his helmet.¹ In the scenes from everyday life, the departures, the sacrifices, and the processions,² both men and women are stately and beautiful. On the white lekythoi 'the artist from purely aesthetic motives liberates the figures of the dead from every sign of mortality. In eternal youth they stand before the eyes of posterity, in the glory of their beauty, and in full possession of their strength.'³ Zeuxis' portraits are said to have been more beautiful than the original and in his Penelope he seemed to have painted morality itself.⁴

The comic poets, historians, and orators draw rough sketches of ideal characters. Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* is the ordinary peace-loving Athenian countryman; Solon in the first book of Herodotus and Artabanus in the seventh represent the point of view of the 'modest' man, but we are not told much more about them than this.⁵ Sophocles, however, draws full-length portraits. Oedipus in the *Tyrannus* is more detailed than any character in the earlier plays. He is a king who like Odysseus is kind as a father to his people; he is a loving husband, and a considerate father; he is religious in his efforts to fulfil the bidding of the gods. So far he is a type. But he is in addition an individual. He is swift in thought and swift to put his thought into action. Just as he guessed the riddle of the sphinx and in the play immediately translates the command of the oracle into a decree, so also he killed his father without inquiry, and in the play immediately suspects Tiresias of

¹ Winter, 251, fig. 2.

² e.g. Pfuhl, fig. 558; Beazley, *V.A.*, fig. 114 (Cleophon ptr.); Winter, 274-5 (Parthenon frieze).

³ von Salis, op. cit. 142.

⁴ O. 1676. For this picture Aristotle's statement that the figures of Zeuxis have no *ethos* cannot have been true (O. 1077).

⁵ For characterization in the orators at this time see Antiphon, v. 76; Gorgias, 11^a28.

bribery, Creon of treachery, and Iocasta of pride. These are the defects of his brilliance. In the same way his love of his people turns into an arrogant assertion of his right to do with them what he pleases, and his reverence for the gods becomes scorn for their oracles when those oracles seem to have given false prophecy. In one trait particularly Sophocles' handling of Oedipus is interesting. Sophoclean heroes find in *physis*, the character which they have inherited from their fathers, a standard of which they must make their lives worthy. Oedipus has been uncertain of his parents since the day in Corinth when he was taunted with bastardy. Therefore when Tiresias speaks of them he flashes out: 'What parents? Stay. Who of men begat me?'¹ And when Iocasta tries to prevent him from discovering the truth, he misunderstands her:² 'I shall wish to see my seed even if it be small . . . I shall not be disgraced if I count myself the child of fortune, the giver of good things.' The normal pride in ancestry becomes in Oedipus desire for knowledge and sensitiveness to any imagined slur. The faults of Oedipus are clear and can mislead no one; his greatness raises him into the sphere of ideal characters. It is tempting to suppose that something of Pericles entered into the portrait. Quickness of intellect and decision are part of the Periclean ideal, and in Sophocles' eyes would be inferior to the virtue of *sophrosyne*. Pericles, like Oedipus, was under a curse. Like Oedipus, Pericles had a greatness which his detractors could not deny.

In the older type of tragedy the characters were less detailed and the amount of action greater, and therefore there was more space for character development. In the *Medea* and the *Tyrannus* less happens, and the interest is concentrated on the portrayal of a single character. Creon in the *Antigone*³ 'learns by suffering' like Ajax and Eteocles

¹ O.T. 437.

² O.T. 1076.

³ Cf. Deianira in the *Trachiniae*, Theseus in the *Hippolytus*.

before him. In the pride of his cleverness he decrees that Polynices' body shall be left unburied; this initial *hybris* becomes *ate*, infatuation, when he first overrides Antigone's appeal to the laws of Zeus and condemns her to death, and then refuses to listen to his own son, Haemon. The opposition, voiced by Antigone, Haemon, and Ismene, culminates in the threats of Tiresias. On this he breaks, but his tardy repentance only causes the death of his son and of his wife. 'Alas, my bitter lesson is complete. On that day some god dealt a heavy blow upon my head and cast me in angry paths, hurling my joy beneath his feet.'¹

Creon is a full portrait; we know his relations to gods and state, to his family, and to women. The similar but much less detailed figure of Croesus in Herodotus shows the further development of such a character. Croesus' pride in his wealth leads him to scorn the *sophrosyne* of Solon and to undertake the mad task of attacking the Persian empire. In the end he realizes his fault and becomes the trusted counsellor first of Cyrus, then of Cambyeses, whom he warns: 'O king, do not yield in all things to youth and passion. It is good to have foresight and prudence is wise.'² Strepsiades in the *Clouds*, when necessary allowances are made for the different sphere of life and the different technique of comedy, is also not unlike Creon. His troubles have come from an initial sin of *hybris*, his marriage with a lady of birth and fashion. He has no thought of the immorality of defrauding his creditors, when he conceives the scheme of learning how to do this more efficiently by taking lessons from Socrates. Proving unable to learn, he sends his son instead. Then his *hybris* recoils on his own head, because his son beats him, and proves by the Socratic logic that this is just. Strepsiades blames the Clouds for his sufferings, but they have made him suffer that he may fear the gods. 'Alas, a cruel course, but just, ye Clouds. I

¹ *Ant.* 1272.

² *Hdt.* iii. 36.

should not have kept back the money that I borrowed. . . . What folly! How mad I was when I used Socrates to cast out the gods.'¹

The early classical methods of presenting characters are further developed. The moment of decision is still important, whether it occurs in a scene of persuasion, as in the *Antigone*² when Creon is persuaded by the Theban elders to revoke his decree, or in a monologue, as in the *Medea*,³ when Medea makes up her mind to slay her children. Medea is thinking aloud, and the process of her thought is clear to the reader. Creon on the other hand changes from violent anger to unwilling agreement without our being able to see the stages. The process is more gradual in the *Hippolytus*,⁴ where the nurse first extracts from Phaedra the cause of her distress, and then persuades her to sanction the use of a love-philtre. The one shows the sudden collapse of an obstinate and opinionated man, the other the gradual sapping of a woman's powers of resistance.

Spectacle often helps the psychological presentation. The procession of Iole and the captives in the *Trachiniae* is viewed with different feelings by Deianira, Lichas, the messenger and the chorus, and besides furthering the action of the play, throws into clear relief the timorous apprehensiveness of Deianira.⁵ A procession of captives is also watched with differing emotions by King Psammenitus, by the other Egyptians, and by the Persian guard in Herodotus' story of Cambyses and Psammenitus.⁶ Psammenitus sees first his daughter sent out as a slave to fetch water, and then his son led off to death. He shows no sign

¹ *Clouds*, 1454 f.

² *Ant.* 1091; cf. *O.T.* 646.

³ *Med.* 1021; cf. *Clouds*, 1.

⁴ *Hipp.* 284 f.

⁵ *Trach.* 221; cf. *O.T.* 644 (oath scene); cf. also *Alc.* 152, Alcestis' farewell to her house and household (vivid narration by the servant).

⁶ *Hdt.* iii. 14.



a. Achilles painter. Departure of warrior.



b. Eretria painter. Dionysiac scene.

until he sees one of his former court begging from the Persian soldiers: then he cries aloud. So far the story may be described as psychological spectacle, illustrating the character of Psammenitus. Cambyses hearing of his behaviour has him questioned. When the news is brought, 'Croesus wept, the Persians present wept, and even Cambyses felt a sort of pity.' In this later part of the story a report is received with varying emotions by the chief character, a minor character, and the chorus, and the object is to show the inflexibility of the major character. Such scenes are not uncommon in tragedy; when in the *Tyrannus*¹ the Corinthian messenger tells the news of Polybus' death, as the truth becomes clearer, Iocasta rushes from the stage to commit suicide; her despair heightens our appreciation of the mad joy of Oedipus, just as the obvious grief of Croesus emphasizes the grudging pity of Cambyses.

The painters and sculptors also infuse their scenes with a peculiar emotional quality, which makes them psychological spectacles. It is impossible to look at the Eleusis relief² without feeling the weight of the enterprise on which Triptolemus is embarking and the care of the mother who sends him out. As in the story of Psammenitus, the emotions of the actors are more important than the action itself. Beazley³ thus describes a vase by the painter of the Boston phiale:

'A scene from ordinary life has been transposed into a higher key. The priestess and her companions making preparations for the festival of Dionysos: the wine jars filled and placed ready, the lyres taken down from the pegs in the store room. The priestess is the mother of the little boy. A shame to leave him at home all day: her sister will bring him and look after him. She has brought

¹ *O.T.* 950; cf. *Hipp.* 565.

² Winter, 248, fig. 4; cf. 284, fig. 1 (Orpheus relief).

³ *V.P.* 52; Pfuhl, fig. 571.

him; he sees his mother, she turns to him in the midst of the stir and the splendour, and he will remember that moment his whole life through.'

Sophocles develops the technique of character contrast still further in this period. In the *Tyrannus* Oedipus is first shown as a king by contrast with the priest, then as angry and suspicious by contrast with Tiresias, then as unwilling to listen to reason by contrast with Creon, until he is finally won by the sympathy of Iocasta and the chorus. But although Sophocles uses character contrasts more than any other author, the technique is to be found in all writers of the period; to give only the most obvious instances, Euripides contrasts Jason and Medea, Aristophanes contrasts Dicaeopolis and Lamachus, and Herodotus contrasts Solon and Croesus.

Character-drawing is also served by tragic irony. The character says something which means one thing for him and another for the audience. The character then is a poor blind thing and the audience both understands and pities his limitations. Deianira, sending the robe in all good faith to Heracles, says that she will make him 'a strange priest in a strange robe'.¹ For her 'strange' does not mean more than new; for the audience the word has a sinister sound because they know that the robe is steeped in poison and will torture Heracles when he puts it on. A further stage in tragic irony is reached when the audience sympathize so deeply with the character that they forget their knowledge; this certainly occurs in the Tiresias scene of the *Tyrannus*,² where the audience have so far identified themselves with Oedipus that they disbelieve Tiresias.

Some of the Athenian white lekythoi awake the same kind of emotion, and may truly be said to possess tragic irony. The spectator knows that they are funerary vases, but the picture, whether of a warrior leaving his wife or a

¹ *Trach.* 613.

² *O.T.* 350.

mother playing with her child (Pl. 14a),¹ gives no hint of death. There is no tomb, no Hermes, no Charon, and no Styx; only a peculiar breath of restrained emotion binds the figures in the scene together.

Such scenes in tragedy and painting imply behind the restraint an appreciation of beauty and of emotion like that of the Ionian sensuous school, of which classical art and poetry often remind us. The Achilles painter (Pl. 14a)² expresses the beauty of form by a wonderfully subtle line, which perhaps reflects the linear researches of the painter Parrhasius. In the wounded Niobid of the Terme³ the naked flesh makes a realistic contrast with the folds of the drapery. Sophocles recalls Phrynichus when he writes of Love which 'keeps vigil on the soft cheeks of a maiden';⁴ and Medea⁵ describes the hands and lips and face, the warm embrace, and the sweet scent of her children.

Writers of this time enjoy the natural scene⁶ and particularly the effects of sunlight. A line of Ion runs: 'Now it is near the dawn, when the light is not yet nor the faint glimmer of morn';⁷ and Euripides in the messenger speech of the *Andromache* makes Neoptolemus stand in the clear light, shining in his gleaming armour.⁸ A sunny realism pervades the Parthenon frieze. 'Only what stands in the spring of life, only what is young and fresh, is beautiful.'⁹ The Argive sculptor Polyclitus also came under the influence of this spell if we can trust our copies of his Diadumenus and Pliny's description *molliter iuvenem* (showing the softness of youth).¹⁰ When classical artists represent animals, they

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 543 (Achilles ptr.); fig. 540 (Sabouroff ptr.).

² Pfuhl, fig. 543; Parrhasius, *O.* 1725.

³ Winter, 250, fig. 3.

⁴ *Ant.* 783; cf. Phrynichus, 13.

⁵ *Med.* 1071.

⁶ e.g. Hdt. vi. 35. 2 (Miltiades sitting in his porch).

⁷ *Ap.* Phot. 89. 24 (Reitzenstein).

⁸ *Andr.* 1145.

⁹ von Salis, *op. cit.* 150.

¹⁰ Winter, 257, fig. 8.

produce enchanting figures, such as the Lycaon painter's fawn.¹

Joy in natural phenomena shows itself also in similes and descriptions. Both Euripides and Sophocles use similes to illustrate the action of poison. Deianira² compares the wool which the poison has destroyed to sawdust, and the foam on the ground to foaming must; the robe clings to Heracles' body as if glued by a carpenter, and the poison works like the venom of a viper. The images in the Euripidean passage³ are more decorative and less vivid: Glauce's flesh runs from her bones like resin from a pine, and Creon in her embrace is held as the bay is held by the ivy.

Both Euripides and Sophocles⁴ enjoy describing the details of a scene. Earlier in the speech just quoted⁵ the messenger tells how Glauce received the robes: 'Before father and children were far from the house she took the coloured robes and put them on, and putting the golden wreath round her hair she arranged her tresses in a looking-glass, smiling at the lifeless image of herself. Then rising from her seat she went through the room, her milkwhite feet treading delicately, often looking at the line of her leg.' The poet likes the picture of the young girl preening herself in her finery, quite apart from its value as a contrast with the tragedy to come. There is the same joy in the description of a boys' game in a comedy by Plato:⁶ 'They draw a line in the road and divide themselves into two parties, and stand some on this side of the line and the others on the other. One, standing between them, throws a sherd into the middle and if it falls white upwards, one

¹ Beazley, *V.P.*, pl. 25.

² *Trach.* 699, 703, 768, 771. After the *Trachiniae* imagery is less common in Sophocles: it is unsuitable to the direct style of the free period.

³ *Med.* 1200, 1213.

⁴ e.g. *Trach.* 517 (lyric).

⁵ *Med.* 1157; cf. *Hec.* 915 (lyric).

⁶ Plato, *Alliance*, 153; cf. the festive evening on the farm, Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1131.

side must run and the other pursue.' The poet enjoys describing the details of the game, just as Herodotus¹ loves to describe in detail the wonderful things that he has seen.

In the purest classical works the realism is kept in check by a strong sense of form. The Athenians loved beauty coupled with economy, as Pericles said. The sense of form shows itself both in detail and on a large scale in poetry, prose, painting, and sculpture. It belongs to the sentence and the single figure as much as to the whole play or pediment. Sophoclean iambics and lyrics have a sweet shapeliness uncommon in the heavier and more richly decorated lines of Aeschylus. Hippolytus' prayer² has the same kind of beauty, and such passages in Euripides stand out all the more clearly because the general tone of Euripidean verse is nearer to ordinary conversation. The simple pattern of anaphora³ often heightens the emotional effect of a sentence. A similar restraint is found in Herodotus, particularly at the end of a story: 'From Hippocrates came another Megacles and another Agariste, named after Agariste the daughter of Cleisthenes, and she lived with Xanthippus and when she was pregnant saw a vision in her sleep, and seemed to give birth to a lion. And after a few days she bore Pericles to Xanthippus.'⁴ The epilogue to the wooing of Cleisthenes' daughter is told as simply as possible, and therefore strikes the hearer with tremendous force. Linear beauty and economy are equally evident in the later works of the Achilles painter and Thanatos painter (Pl. 14a),⁵ and in classical sculptures such as the Doryphorus and Diadumenus of Polyclitus⁶ and the Orpheus relief.⁷

¹ e.g. i. 25 (the bowls of Alyattes).

² *Hipp.* 73; cf. *Hec.* 342.

³ e.g. *Ant.* 898; *O.T.* 312; *Med.* 1025; Antiphon, v. 45, 62.

⁴ *Hdt.* vi. 131. 2; cf. i. 119. 6-7.

⁵ e.g. Pfuhl, fig. 543 (Achilles ptr.); fig. 544 (Thanatos ptr.).

⁶ Winter, 257, fig. 5; 8.

⁷ *Ibid.* 284, fig. 1.

Linear structure on a larger scale can be seen in the sculptures of the Parthenon; the whole vast mass of the frieze is organized by the steady movement of the procession; the numerous figures of the pediments are united by the movement which flows out to the corners from the central explosive figures.¹ The constructional lines carry the mass of diverse detail. Similarly the literature of this time usually has a clear direction. In the *Tyrannus* Sophocles has abandoned the diptych form of the earlier plays, and events move with the certainty of fate from the beginning to the conclusion; every incident has its place in the economy and the spectator is constantly forewarned of the future course of the play. Although Euripides is sometimes less careful of linear structure, the *Medea* moves forward relentlessly, dominated by the leading character.² In spite of the inclusion of the formal agon and non-dramatic parabasis the early plays of Aristophanes move steadily forward to a definite conclusion. The *Acharnians* tells the story of Dicaeopolis' private peace and reaches its logical conclusion only when Lamachus returns wounded from his expedition and Dicaeopolis returns triumphant from his feast—the rewards of war and peace. The firm underlying structure of classical art and literature makes it possible for the separate sections to be complete and independent. The history of Herodotus has a large number of formally independent digressions, but they do not seriously impede the forward progress of the work which begins with Croesus and Cyrus, continues with Cambyses and Darius, and ends with Xerxes.³

A more static kind of unity is achieved by symmetrical

¹ Winter, 270, fig. 1; 271, fig. 1.

² The arrival of the Corinthian messenger in the *Tyrannus* and of Aegeus in the *Medea*, though unexpected, do not break the rhythm of the play, because the story can only go forward by their external aid, and therefore they are necessary.

³ Cf. Pohlenz, *Herodotus*, 88.

balance. The elaborate kommos of the *Trachiniae* is perhaps the last instance of 'eclectic' symmetry as used by Aeschylus;¹ but on a large scale symmetry, inherited ultimately from the ripe archaic period,² gives form to large compositions both in literature and in art. Even in the swiftly moving *Tyrannus*³ Creon's arrival with news in the prologue^a is balanced by the arrival of the Corinthian messenger in the third act, the extraction of truth from Tiresias^b is balanced by the extraction of truth from the Theban herdsman, and the contrast between the moderation of Creon and the excess of Oedipus^c is repeated in the final scene, so that a static structure of scenes balancing about the long dialogue D between Oedipus and Iocasta—a.b.c.D.a.b.c—underlies the dynamic structure of Oedipus' detection and fall.

A more perfect symmetry can be seen in the *Medea*. The plan of the *Medea* is a.b.c.D.c.b.a. The centre D is the Aegeus scene. The despair of Medea in the prologue^a corresponds to the despair of Jason in the last scene. Creon's two active entrances into the story^b are in the first act and the messenger speech. The first debate between Jason and Medea^c is balanced by Medea's later persuasion of Jason.

Another kind of balance is used by Euripides in the *Andromache*,⁴ a play in which the linear structure is weak. The prologue^a stands alone. After the parodos the play falls into two halves. Each is opened by the entrance of Hermione^b. There follows a scene of despair^c, the despair of Andromache in the first half and of Peleus in the second, and then a kommos^d. After the kommos comes a relief^e, Peleus in the first half, and Thetis in the second, so that the whole plan is a'b.c.d.e'b.c.d.e. But symmetry in classical

¹ *Trach.* 971 f.; see above, p. 67.

² See above, pp. 27, 90.

³ Cf. Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 109 (*Antigone*); *Greek Poetry and Life*, 180 (*Trachiniae*).

⁴ Cf. *Hecuba*—a.b.c.b.c.

literature is never over-exact, and remarkable freedom is allowed in details.¹

A similar free symmetry can be observed in the West pediment of the Parthenon; the two important figures on Athena's side are male, Ilissus and Hermes, and the two corresponding figures on Poseidon's side female, Nymph and Iris. Symmetrical composition is not so imperative for metopes as for pediments, but on the Parthenon the metopes also were carefully planned. In the Gigantomachy on the Eastern side,² the two central metopes of the series are complementary: Hera occupies one and Zeus the other. The fourth and eleventh, the centres of the two halves, are the only metopes with three figures instead of two. The balance makes the whole into a compact unity.

Not many of the vase-paintings have a large enough number of figures for comparison, but the thirteen figures of the Eretria painter's Dionysiac scene (Pl. 14*b*, cf. 15*a*)³ are arranged in free symmetry. On either side of the dancing figure of Phanope is a group of two, on the left Macaria reclining and Periclymene with tambourine, on the right Nymph holding the fainting Naia. This central group is flanked by two groups of four figures—one standing, one reclining, and two seated; but the general symmetry of these flanking groups is twice broken; the reclining figure on the right is a Maenad leaning back, while that on the left is a satyr leaning forward; and the pairs of seated figures consist of two maenads back to back on the left and Dionysus and a satyr facing each other on the right. Free symmetry helps to give classical composition clarity and definition.

Classical writers and artists use typical forms for both

¹ e.g. strophe of lyric dialogue balanced by antistrophe sung by chorus alone, *Med.* 1273; cf. *Hipp.* 362, 669.

² Cf. Praschniker, *Parthenonstudien*, fig. 133.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 560; cf. fig. 554 (Orpheus painter).



a Orpheus painter. Orpheus.



b. Dinos painter. Dionysiac scene.

the larger and the smaller sections of their compositions. The three plays of Sophocles (*Antigone*, *Trachiniae*, *Tyrannus*) have a common form, which might with reason be regarded as the classical form of tragedy. The prologue consists of a dialogue. The first act begins with an explanatory speech by the chief character, and then a new character enters. The second act is a long and complicated composition of at least three parts. After shorter scenes the play ends with the sequence—messenger speech, kommos, exodos.¹ In prose, too, the standardizing tendency can be seen. Aly² has shown that Herodotus describes countries according to a scheme: he gives their history and geography first, and then proceeds to 'wonders' and lastly to customs. And the sequence—prologue, narrative, proof, peroration—is now found in the speeches of the orators.³

Inside the framework certain types of scene are common in tragedy, such as appeal, persuasion, and debate; and the choruses can be readily classified as generalization, simple recapitulation, emotional recapitulation, or lament. By the time of the *Wasps*⁴ the appeal to compassion has become a stock part of the orator's peroration, and Thrasymachus made a collection of pathetic appeals.

Classical artists also use typical forms for composing scenes and figures. The 'uneven' composition of the ripe archaic period⁵ is common again. The Northern metopes of the Parthenon are an extreme instance;⁶ the twenty-nine metopes depicting the sack of Troy, held together by the echoing figures of Helios and Selene at beginning and

¹ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, §c., 292, for the standard form of early Aristophanic comedy.

² *Formprobleme*, 48.

³ Antiphon, v; Gorgias, 11.

⁴ *Wasps*, 975; cf. Gorgias, 11^a33.

⁵ See above, p. 27.

⁶ Cf. three-figure scenes: Winter, 284, fig. 1 (Orpheus relief); Pfuhl, fig. 571 (Boston phiale painter).

end, are balanced by three metopes of watching gods and goddesses, who give the divine fiat to the proceedings. When white lekythoi show the visit to the grave, it is either a two-figure scene with the dead and the living on opposite sides of the stele,¹ or a three-figure scene with a living figure on each side and the dead sitting on the steps of the central grave.² The three-figure scene with the central seated figure is a new type, and lasts on into the free period. The standing figure with one arm or hand resting on a pillar is a new type which becomes popular with sculptors.³ The delight in the normal shows itself again in the fact that painters and sculptors now construct their figures according to a definite system of proportions so that each part can be expressed as a multiple of some standard part, and for the first time the proportions are codified in detail for sculpture by Polyclitus and for painting by Parrhasius.⁴

Form can only be appreciated if the different parts of a composition are clearly set off against one another either by change of tone or by emphasis on the transitions. In tragedy some change of tone always occurs in the passage from iambic scene to choral ode and back, a change which can either be softened or emphasized. The generalizing chorus⁵ contrasts sharply with the agitation of the preceding scene. The emotional chorus⁶ which intensifies the emotion of the preceding scene may contrast sharply with a different emotion in the next scene. The second stasimon of the *Medea*⁷ starts as a generalizing chorus after the violent debate between Jason and Medea; the sad reflections at the end on Medea's homelessness are intentionally at variance with the tone of the Aegeus scene.

Colour and spacing make contrasts of the same kind in

¹ Pfuhl, 541, figs. 544-9.

² Ibid., fig. 550.

³ Winter, 246, figs. 1-2 (Parthenos); 256, fig. 7 (Amazon).

⁴ S.J. 163; O. 1724.

⁵ *Ant.* 332; *O.T.* 863, &c.

⁶ *O.T.* 1086.

⁷ *Med.* 627; cf. 824

art. Greek painters heightened the effect of their colours by contrasting them with other colours¹ and on white lekythoi² figures wrapped in black are contrasted with figures drawn in outline on the white ground. The frieze of the Parthenon is subdivided by alternation in the spacing of the figures. The North frieze³ starts with the short breathless rhythm of the riders, who are followed by the longer easier groups of chariots. The rhythm quickens with the citizens, lyre-players, flautists, and bearers of pitchers and trays; the frieze ends with a more open spacing again, the sacrificial animals and their escorts. The same alternation occurs on the other sides of the frieze and serves to divide the great composition into definite sections.

The other method of securing definition, emphasis on the ends and the transitions, can be seen in the speeches of poetry and prose. The speeches of the earlier part of the period still have the striking imagery of the strong style. Artabanus' speech to Xerxes in the seventh book of Herodotus,⁴ which in form and argument is strangely like Haemon's speech to Creon in the *Antigone*,⁵ will serve as an example. Artabanus starts with a prelude on the advantages of debate, a long period with a striking simile of testing gold. After a section of straightforward argument the speaker dwells on the advantages of good counsel and the dangers of being too great, again using elaborate images, and ends with an appeal for delay. Beginning and end are stressed by general argument and imagery; between these two striking pillars the speech flows simply.

Three points are worthy of notice in this speech. First, ideas and words from the beginning of a section are echoed at the end. Gorgias similarly in his *Helen*⁶ defines the

¹ Plato, *Rep.* 586^b.

² Pfuhl, figs. 541, 545-6 (Thanatos ptr.).

³ Winter, 274-6.

⁴ Hdt. vii. 10.

⁵ *Ant.* 683; see Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 149.

⁶ *II.* 6-20; cf. *Alc.* 777-800.

argument section by ring form; it starts 'either by the will of fortune and counsel of the gods and decree of necessity she did what she did, or ravished by violence, or persuaded by words, or captured by love'; it ends 'whether loved or persuaded by word or ravished by violence or compelled by divine necessity'. Secondly, gnomes or maxims clinch the argument; gnomes are extremely common during this period both at the end and at the beginning of speeches.¹ Thirdly, Artabanus² passes from Xerxes to Mardonius by the familiar Homeric transition: 'To you (μὲν) I counsel this, O king, but you (σὺ), son of Gobryas...' This form of transition is found in all the writers of our period, but is particularly frequent in Antiphon.

Oedipus' first speech to the chorus in the *Tyrannus*³ is divided into three main sections—the proclamation, the command to the citizens with Oedipus' reasons, and the final imprecation. The first proclamation has three subdivisions: 'If he fears . . . if one knows of another . . . if you are silent.' It is followed by a further trio: 'I forbid . . . I pray . . . I swear.' Sophocles gives shape and definition to his whole speech by the triad form.⁴ He also marks the sections of the speech by keywords:⁵ 'I proclaim . . . I forbid . . . I pray . . . I swear . . . I command . . . I pray.' He ends with a strong conclusion, a resounding final phrase:⁶ 'May all the gods be with you for ever!' Both poets and prose-writers often mark the conclusion by parallel clauses, ending with words that rhyme (homoioteleuton).⁷

The maximum of clarity and definition is achieved when the programme of the speech is given at the beginning and

¹ e.g. *O.T.* 613; *Med.* 1079.

² *Hdt.* vii. 10. 7; cf. Antiphon, v. 7, &c.

³ *O.T.* 216.

⁴ See *Hermes*, 1936, 272, for parallels from Herodotus and Ion.

⁵ Cf. *Ant.* 585 (Ate); *Hdt.* v. 49 (easily).

⁶ Cf. *Hipp.* 976; *Hdt.* i. 45. 3; Antiphon, v. 18.

⁷ *Med.* 408; *Hec.* 1250; Antiphon, i. 15; Gorgias 11. 19; 11^a35.

then each stage of its execution marked. In the *Helen* of Gorgias¹ the first sentence of the 'proof' states the possible cause of Helen's deeds, and these causes are examined in turn. Euripides' Hippolytus, when he has heard Theseus' accusation,² says that he will begin his answer where his father began. The disposition of the whole speech is clear, and each section is clearly marked.

In pursuit of definition the classical artist, whether he is composing a single figure or group, prefers the closed composition to the open form in which lines spread from a centre out beyond the frame. The figure of the Parthenos is carefully enclosed by the pillar on the left and the shield and spear on the right.³ In the Achilles painter's Departure (Pl. 14a)⁴ the hood hanging on the wall bounds the composition on the left-hand side, and on the right the eye on the shield points the spectator towards the centre. In larger compositions pillar figures often mark the ends. When they are alike (Pl. 14b)⁵ their use is analogous to the ring form in literature. They are used at the ends of the sides of the Parthenon frieze,⁶ and at the ends of sections within the sides (Pl. 17).⁷

When the pillar figure at the end of one group is echoed in reverse by the pillar figure at the beginning of the next, the transition is like the Homeric transition in literature. In the East frieze of the Parthenon the advance of the maidens is checked by a marshal, then after two more maidens by two marshals who form the pillar figures bounding the group of maidens. The second of these marshals (reading from the right) stands a little apart from his fellow and in general position is the counterpart of the next marshal who

¹ 11. 6 (quoted above).

² 991; cf. *Med.* 475; *Suppl.* 517.

³ Winter, 246; cf. 247, fig. 5 (Dresden Zeus).

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 543; cf. fig. 540 (Sabouroff ptr.).

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 560 (Eretria ptr.).

⁶ Winter, 275, fig. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.* 274, fig. 10.

also stands a little apart from the succeeding group of four marshals to which he belongs (Pl. 17).¹ In literature the transition could be phrased: 'So he (μὲν) checked the maidens, but he (ἀὲ) announced their coming to his colleagues who...'

The forms of single figures are clear-cut and definite. The sharp divisions of aegis, girding, and overfall are no doubt accurately copied in the Varvakeion statuette of the Parthenos.² The Dresden Zeus³ is constructed on a series of triangles; the sceptre and the line of the himation form the enclosing lines of a large triangle; smaller triangles are formed by the bent left arm, the overfall of the himation, and the skirt of the himation.

Clarity and definition are the natural expression of the *sophrosyne* which is the inspiration of classical literature and art. Therefore classical art is a formal art. Love of form is dangerous in so far as it is liable to become mannerism. This tendency is checked by the emotion which *sophrosyne* controls. But on this side also there is danger; sunny realism may become brutal realism, and ideal characters may become studies of passion. Classical art and literature grow out of the old Ionian style and the newer strong style, and the union shows the best qualities of each. But the union depends on the controlling force of *sophrosyne*, and events in the early Peloponnesian war did much to remove that control.

THE NEW VIEW

The Theban chorus in the *Antigone*, looking beyond Creon and Antigone to the rise of the sophistic movement in Athens, sing:⁴ 'In the contriving of his art man has a skill beyond all hope. Sometimes his path is evil, sometimes good.' The use of intellect untrammelled by morality or

¹ Winter, 275, figs. 2-5.

² Ibid. 246, fig. 2.

³ Ibid. 247, fig. 5; cf. 248, fig. 3 (Kore Albani); 249, fig. 2 ('Lemnian' Athena).

⁴ *Ant.* 365.

religion is characteristic of the new way of life, the post-plague philosophy, if we may so call it. Nothing is closed to the search of thought; the gods, man, the city, the world, literature, and art are all subjected to scrutiny.

Criticism of the traditional religion takes various forms. The myths about the gods were capable of misuse when quoted by the unscrupulous, as can be seen in the *Clouds*, where the Unjust Argument is prepared to justify adultery by quoting the example of Zeus.¹ Therefore the stories are criticized, as they had been eighty years before by Xenophanes.² The messenger in the *Andromache*,³ having recounted how Apollo inspired the murder of Neoptolemus at Delphi, ends with an attack on the god. 'Like a malicious mortal, he remembered old scores. How could he be wise?' Some thinkers, abandoning the crudities of the legends, erected a loftier god.⁴ The doctor⁵ who wrote on *The Sacred Disease* refuses to believe that the body of man can be tainted by god, and Creon in the *Antigone*⁶ declares that he knows well that no man can defile the gods. But, as Sophocles shows by putting the words into Creon's mouth, it is a dangerous theory because it removes the deity from the sphere of human action without substituting some other system of morality for the old religion.

The abundance of false prophets, particularly in war-time, threw oracles and dreams into discredit. An oracle, says Iocasta in the *Tyrannus*, is often fulfilled in a dream.⁷ If oracles cannot be believed one of the main reasons for believing in the gods is gone. Instead *Tyche*, fortune, and *Kairos*, opportunity,⁸ govern the world. In the same

¹ *Clouds*, 1080; cf. Eur. fr. 794 (from the *Philoctetes*).

² See above, p. 32.

⁴ Eur. *Hipp.* 120; fr. 292 7. (from the *Bellerophon*).

⁵ Hippocrates, *De morbo sacro*, 1.

⁷ *O.T.* 981; cf. Hdt. vii. 16. β. 2; *Hipp.* 1059.

⁸ Ion wrote a hymn to *Kairos*, which was thus raised to divine status. *Hermes*, 1936, 265.

³ 1161.

⁶ *Ant.* 1043.

passage Iocasta says, 'Why should man fear when he is ruled by Fortune and there is no clear foresight of anything?'¹ Similarly the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the virtuous appear incompatible with the just government of moral gods,² and it was easy to ridicule the idea that sins are recorded in heaven: 'The whole sky would not suffice for the writing of mortal sins, nor Zeus himself to watch and send each his punishment.'³

At the same time the scientific exploration of the physical world decreased the importance of the gods. Diogenes of Apollonia propounded the equation air = mind = god.⁴ The phenomena of weather were referred to physical causes instead of to divine anger at human misdemeanours.⁵ Research into the possibility of human knowledge led Protagoras to the statement that man is the measure of all things,⁶ and the development of civilization was now ascribed not to the gods, but to human ingenuity.⁷ Thus in the *Hecuba*⁸ the gods are finally dethroned: 'The gods are strong and Convention which rules them. For by convention we believe in the gods and define justice and injustice.' The gods are conventions of human thought.

Nomos, convention and law, is opposed to *physis*, nature. In the treatise *On Air, Water, and Place* the nature of a race is shown to be intimately connected with geographical conditions; but the writer⁹ admits that *nomos* can give a race characteristics which nature denies them, and thus takes a definite side in the much-debated question whether

¹ O.T. 977; cf. *Hec.* 491.

² Euripides, fr. 286 (*Bellerophon*); cf. *Clouds*, 398.

³ Euripides, fr. 506 (*Melanippe*).

⁴ Diogenes, 5; cf. *Clouds*, 230.

⁵ Ibid. 367; cf. *Cyclops*, 320.

⁶ Protagoras, 1; cf. *Clouds*, 145.

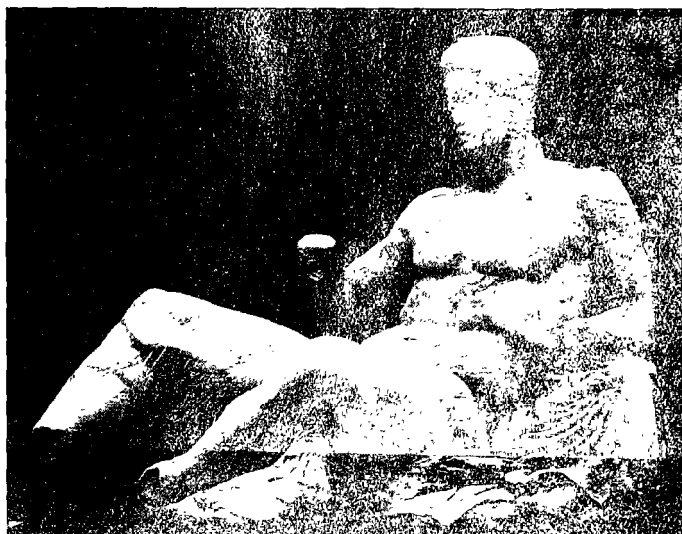
⁷ *Ant.* 332.

⁸ *Hec.* 799.

⁹ Hippocrates, *De aeribus*, 24; cf. 14; Hdt. ix. 122.



a. Parthenon: Metope from S. side.



b. Parthenon: "Theon" from E. pediment.

virtue is teachable.¹ The antithesis has no harmful implications as long as *nomos* is regarded as a powerful force which can mould *physis*, and *physis* is the high ideal of the aristocratic thinkers.² But when the antithesis implies that *nomos* is man-made and therefore worthless,³ the consequences may be disastrous. When Herodotus⁴ tells how Darius confronted Greeks, who burned their dead, with Indians, who ate their dead, he draws the conclusion that each country thinks its own laws best; but the story also shows that *nomos* is relative and unimportant compared with *physis* which is common to all men, both Greek and barbarian.⁵

The clearest statement of the principle and its consequences is in the sophist Antiphon:⁶

'The commands of law are artificial, those of nature necessary. The commands of law are the result of agreement, not of growth; the commands of nature are the result of growth, not of agreement. Therefore the transgressor of the law, if he escapes the notice of those who made the agreement, is free of dishonour and punishment, but not if he is seen. But suppose a man goes against possibility and does violence to something that has grown up in nature, if he escapes the notice of all men, the harm is no less; if all see him, the harm is no greater. For the damage is not a matter of opinion but of reality. The point of this inquiry is that the majority of the rights laid down by law are at enmity with nature.'

The command is clear: Follow *physis* rather than *nomos*, follow passion rather than the dictates of conscience.⁷

The acknowledgement of passion as a spring and criterion of action leads to a new type of character in tragedy. Euripides' Medea can be put beside Sophocles' Oedipus as a full-length portrait. She combines two Euripidean types, the wise woman and the passionate woman.⁸ On the stage

¹ Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 592; *Suppl.* 911.

² See above, p. 75.

³ Cf. *Clouds*, 1421.

⁴ Hdt. iii. 38. 3.

⁵ Cf. Antiphon, 44 B 2.

⁶ Ibid. 44 A 1.

⁷ Cf. *Clouds*, 1078.

⁸ Cf. the wise Melanippe and the passionate Phaedra.

her wisdom is confined to hoodwinking Creon and Jason and finally escaping in her winged chariot. Her passion in its various manifestations is so powerful that other sides to her character hardly exist, and therefore she presents a less complex picture than Oedipus. Where two desires cross, she is in an agony of indecision and is for the moment torn in two,¹ but before long the stronger desire wins. 'I understand what evils I am setting on foot. But stronger than my thought is passion which is the cause of the greatest human evils.'² She openly states that she does not believe in *sophrosyne*; she is not quiet, but of the other sort.³ She exults in the skill with which she has flattered Creon into giving her another day in which to plot her revenge.⁴ Her feelings are subject to no control. The picture which the nurse draws of her behaviour before she hears of the sentence of exile on her children and herself, is confirmed both by her earlier conduct in murdering Absyrtus and Pelias and by the violence with which she attacks Jason.⁵ 'She lies without food, her body given up to pain, wasting away with tears, ever since she saw that her husband had wronged her, neither raising her eyes nor lifting her face from the ground. She listens to the chiding of her friends no more than rock or wave, save that sometimes she throws back her white neck and weeps to herself for father, country and home.' She is entirely at the mercy of physical forces and therefore when she sees her children their physical attraction almost breaks down her resolve.⁶ In the end the desire for vengeance wins and her love for her children is transformed into the strange animal passion which makes the lioness destroy her cubs: 'Therefore we who bore them will slay them.'⁷

Euripides usually approaches his characters realistically.

¹ Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 200.

² *Med.* 1078; cf. *Phaedra*, *Hipp.* 380.

³ *Med.* 807.

⁴ *Ibid.* 364.

⁵ *Ibid.* 20, 500.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1040.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1240.

Even Hippolytus is something of a prig in his refusal to reverence Aphrodite, his unwillingness to understand Phaedra, and his pompous self-defence.¹ Herodotus and Aristophanes also have their realistic characters: Aristagoras and Strepsiades are cunning rogues; Cambyzes and Xerxes are *akolastoi*, men whose passion is not subject to reason; Lamachus in the *Acharnians* is the father of all the bragging soldiers of later comedy. All are realistic as compared with the ideal Artabanus and Dicaeopolis.

The interpretation of *physis* as passion and of *nomos* as man-made convention leads also to a new political philosophy. In the first book of the *Republic* Thrasymachus² maintains that justice is the expediency of the stronger, and it is reasonable to suppose that the historical Thrasymachus who was well known in Athens by 427 held this view. It was a fifth-century philosophy, since it is found in Gorgias³ and is implied in the *Antigone*⁴ when Creon asks, 'Am I to rule this land for another rather than myself?' Moral and political ideals do not matter; the desire of the tyrant is his criterion of action.

The *physis-nomos* antithesis and the very important ideas which come out of it are the result of clear and objective thought. And this activity of thought must have been of general interest since its results are reflected in contemporary tragedy and comedy as well as in philosophy and history. We find in Euripides as well as Herodotus⁵ the classification of political constitutions into their three main classes, and the clear statement of the advantages and disadvantages of each. Geography is treated technically by Herodotus and the author of *On Air, Water and Place*; for the general interest in geography and natural science the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and fragments of the

¹ *Hipp.* 102, 664, 983; cf. Hermione in the *Andromache*.

² Thrasymachus, 6^a (= *Rep.* 338^c). ³ Gorgias, 11. 6. ⁴ *Ant.* 736.

⁵ *Suppl.* 238, 412, 429; Hdt. iii. 80.

other comic poets¹ provide abundant evidence. The technique of thought and expression is a subject of special study, since the art of speaking was of peculiar importance in a city which was governed by public meetings and in which the law-courts flourished exceedingly; Euripides calls Persuasion 'the only ruler among men'.² Aristophanes ridicules the niceties of grammar and vocabulary which were discussed by the sophists,³ and echoes of Protagoras can be seen in Sophocles and Herodotus as well as Aristophanes.⁴

The craft of literature and art is also studied. Earlier literary criticism was more concerned with matter than form; but now Sophocles wrote on the craft of tragedy, Damon on music and Parrhasius on painting, while Gorgias emphasized the emotional power of art and poetry and the illusionistic quality of drama.⁵ Literary criticism in one form or another gains an increasing place in Athenian comedy.⁶ Aristophanes ridicules the realism of Euripides in the *Acharnians*, and in the *Knights* gives a brief history of comedy, in which Crates and Cratinus are skilfully and succinctly characterized.⁷ The Euripides scene in the *Acharnians* is evidence both for the knowledge and for the interest of the Athenian audience—for their knowledge because many of the lines are parodied from Euripides' *Telephus*, which had been produced thirteen years before,⁸ and for their interest because it is introduced to put them into a good humour before Dicaeopolis' defence of the Lacedaemonians.⁹

¹ Cratinus, 207 f. (*Seriphians*); Hermippus, 4 (*Athena's Birth*); 63 (*Porters*). *Clouds*, 96, 171, 202.

² *Hec.* 816.

³ *Clouds*, 661; fr. 198 (from the *Banqueters*).

⁴ *Ant.* 687; *Trach.* 425, 588; Hdt. vii. 10. 7. 2; *Clouds*, 99, 889.

⁵ Gorgias, 11. 9–10; 23.

⁶ Cratinus had already produced his *Archilochi* in the early classical period. See above, p. 49.

⁷ *Kts.* 514 f.

⁸ *Ach.* 410 f.

⁹ Mazon, *Essai sur composition*, 26.

Parody of higher literature and caricature of heroic figures are always popular with an intellectual and quick-witted audience.¹ The greedy Heracles² is a stock figure of Athenian drama. Dionysus is put on trial in Aristophanes' *Babylonians* and learns campaigning under the admiral Phormio in the *Captains* of Eupolis.³ Parody of literature may be on a small or large scale. Often single lines of tragedy, epic, and hymns are quoted, parodied, and distorted, as when the Boeotian addresses his eel in the *Acharnians*: 'Eldest of fifty Copaic maidens';⁴ or, more simply, the grand manner is used without reference to any particular line or play. Sometimes, however, the scale is larger. In the *Peace* Trygaeus' flight to heaven on his beetle parodies Euripides' *Bellerophon*. Cratinus wrote a play called the *Odysseuses* which the ancient critic describes as a caricature of the *Odyssey*. It seems to be a translation of the ninth book into the sphere of everyday life. In Homer the Cyclops eats Odysseus' sailors without saying a word. In Cratinus⁵ he speaks in Homeric hexameters: 'Therefore I will take you all, trusty comrades, and fry you and boil you and roast you and dip you into salt and vinegar-salt and then into hot garlic-salt. And then whichever of you seems best done I will eat, my soldiers.' The hexameters and the epic phrase 'trusty comrades' come from Homer; the rest is contemporary Athenian.

In a period like this wit and inventiveness were highly prized. Aristophanes praises Crates for his 'most witty conceptions', a term by which he later describes his own metamorphosis of Demos.⁶ He several times praises him-

¹ See above, p. 15.

² He occurs in comedies of Cratinus and Plato, *Omphale* of Ion, and *Alcestis* of Euripides.

³ Cf. Powell, *New Chapters*, iii. 160, on Cratinus' *Dionysalexandrus*.

⁴ *Ach.* 883.

⁵ Cratinus, 143.

⁶ *Kts.* 537, 1322.

self for his novelty.¹ Perhaps of all the scenes in his earlier plays the Trial of a Dog² in the *Wasps* is the wittiest in conception. Crates' power of invention can be tested by a long fragment of the *Beasts*,³ in which a speaker describes an ideal world: 'Every pot will come of itself when it is called. Table, pull yourself up. Lay yourself, you. Bread-basket, do the kneading. Pour it in, ladle. Where is the cup? Go and wash yourself. Come here, loaf. Pot, disgorge the beetroot. Walk up, fish. "But I am not yet done on one side." Turn yourself over then and sprinkle yourself with salt.' In tragedy the scenes of heroic self-sacrifice in several plays by Euripides must have seemed a daring novelty to the audience.⁴

Artists also startled the spectator with daring themes and daring positions. Rodenwaldt thus describes the Nike which Paeonius made for the Messenians to dedicate at Olympia:⁵ 'With a boldness of conception and technique hitherto unparalleled, Paeonius ventured to give this motif a new artistic meaning of mighty dynamic power. The goddess came storming down from heaven straight over the spectator's head. The eagle, which Zeus had sent with her, circled round her feet.' Zeuxis,⁶ who had begun his career as a painter before Aristophanes wrote the *Acharnians*, 'did not paint the ordinary and popular themes—or only very few of them—heroes or gods or wars—but always tried to innovate and demonstrated the accuracy of his technique on strange and unusual conceptions'.

By such means poets and artists satisfied the intellectual appetites of their audiences. The simplicity of the early classical period gave place to a new luxury, which Aristophanes describes in his earliest play, the *Banqueters*. There the father of the two brothers says of the town brother's

¹ *Clouds*, 547; *Wasps*, 1044.

² *Wasps*, 891.

³ Crates, 14.

⁴ *Hec.* 342; *Heracl.* 474; *Suppl.* 980.

⁵ *Olympia*, 45; Winter, 266, figs. 3-5.

⁶ O. 1663.

education: 'He learnt to drink, to sing immoral songs, Syracusan cooking, Sybaritic cheer, and Chian wine from Laconian cups.'¹ (The last is presumably the equivalent of champagne in a bucket.) Then the precious youth says: 'I am worn out with fluting and lyre-playing. Do you ask me to dig?'² The hair of the new generation was carefully curled and perfumed, they spent the day in the baths rather than the gymnasium, their houses were painted, at their feasts they wore elaborate garlands on their heads and white felt slippers on their feet.³

The painter Parrhasius⁴ went about in purple with a golden wreath on his head, a stick studded with golden screws, and golden buckles to his sandals. It is therefore fitting that he should have been 'the first to have painted elegance of hair and charm of face'.⁵ His Theseus appeared to have been fed on roses, and Zeuxis painted a rose-wreathed Eros in the flower of youth.⁶ The great cult-statues of this time were made of gold and ivory, and the elaborate clothing of the Fates from the Parthenon⁷ shows how the rich style was translated into stone. The severe Doric architecture of the Parthenon was modified by the addition of the frieze and of Ionic columns in the interior, while the Nike temple is pure Ionic, a style little used in Athens since the time of the tyrants. In Aglaophon's picture painted for Alcibiades after his Olympian victory the victor was more beautiful than the nymphs who were crowning him.⁸ We shall find more evidence for these effeminates in later vase-painting, but the Eretria painter gives us some idea of the new luxury particularly in his

¹ Aristophanes, fr. 216; see Murray, *Aristophanes*, 22.

² Aristophanes, fr. 221.

³ Cratinus (*Dionysalexandrus* and *Malithakoi*), 42, 98, 100; Aristophanes, *Kts.* 1375; *Clouds*, 1053; *Wasps*, 1069; cf. Xenophanes, 3, quoted above, p. 31.

⁴ O. 1700.

⁵ Ibid. 1724.

⁶ Ibid. 1704, 1660.

⁷ Winter, 270, fig. 2.

⁸ O. 1132.

Wedding of Alcestis with its elaborately dressed women and long-haired Erotes.¹ Such figures had not been seen since the last quarter of the sixth century, the heyday of the sensuous and sophisticated styles.

(a) *The Decorated Style*

As in the time of the Pisistratids, sophistication and mannerism are highly valued. The large picture of Dionysus among satyrs and maenads by the Eretria painter (Pl. 14b)² combines the qualities of richness and delicacy; the satyrs and maenads are no longer wild and primitive, but have been transmuted into the cast of an elegant ballet. The Eretria painter's ballet scenes—even Menelaus, when he rushes on Helen to kill her, leaps with the grace of a dancer³—remind us of the earlier ballet scenes by the Pan painter. The Codrus painter revives the over-slim figures that were characteristic of Duris.⁴ One of the painters of white lekythoi,⁵ while using the new suggestive line of the classical period, yet so draws his foreshortened shield and legs that they do not disturb the two-dimensional linear pattern of his picture; in the late sixth century we noticed the same treatment of distortions by Euphronius.⁶

In literature the revived mannerism shows itself in various conceits of expression.⁷ The Greek language lends itself easily to play upon words, whether punning in the ordinary sense or ringing the changes on different forms of the same word. The last sentence of the fragment of Gorgias' funeral oration—he is particularly fond of this trick of style—has both:⁸ 'Therefore, though they are dead,

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 561.

² Ibid., fig. 560; cf. fig. 565.

³ Furtwängler-Reichhold, iii. 307; see above, p. 51.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 563; cf. fig. 514 (Nausicaa ptr.); see above, p. 18.

⁵ From the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 1931, 181, fig. 17.

⁶ See above, p. 29.

⁷ *Conceits: Andr.* 166; *Trach.* 560. *Forced Antithesis: Hec.* 230; *Trach.*

1118. *Abstract for Concrete: Trach.* 1212; *Hec.* 1015.

⁸ Gorgias, 6.



Parthenon: Slab from E frieze.

the desire for them has not died with them, but lives immortal in mortal bodies though they live not.' English cannot render the pun in the first line; the syllable *poth* occurs both in 'dead' and 'desire'. In the same fragment we find an excessive use of the 'Gorgiastic figures'—forced antithesis, parallelism of clauses, and rhyming endings.¹ In all these conceits joy in form is apparent, and it is not surprising to find that sentences are still twisted from hypotactic into paratactic shape to preserve the formal pattern,² although writers at this time have no difficulty in building periods freely.³

Literary reminiscence, except when it gives a particular emotional colour,⁴ is an ornament. Herodotus is strongly influenced by the style of Homer. It pervades his composition, transitions, phrasing, and language.⁵ The epic colouring gives his story a manner which must have been attractive to his audiences. Euripides occasionally gives his lyrics for the same reason an Aeschylean flavour.⁶ Besides earlier literature, religious forms influence poetry and prose in the fifth century. Several choruses, notably the parodos of the *Tyrannus*,⁷ are hymns and therefore have the traditional ring form. But the padding of the sentence with strings of words connected by 'and' and with phrases added in apposition, which is characteristic of the more ornate choral hymns, is used by poets and prose-writers⁸ as decoration. A sentence in a chorus of the *Andromache*⁹ runs: 'Verily great ills began when to the Idaean

¹ Cf. Antiphon, v. 1, 2; Hdt. i. 87. 3; *Heracl.* 947.

² *O.T.* 258; *Med.* 215; Antiphon, v. 11.

³ *O.T.* 380; *Andr.* 804; Antiphon, v. 8; Hdt. vii. 10. 3.

⁴ See above, p. 105.

⁵ Cf. Legrand, *Hérodote*, 151 f.; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, 263 ff.

⁶ Kranz, *Stasimon*, 176; cf. Page, *Greek Poetry and Life*, 214.

⁷ Cf. *Kts.* 551 f.; *Ant.* 1115.

⁸ Hippocrates, *De aeribus*, 3c., 12; Antiphon, i. 22; Gorgias, 11. 8; Melissus, 7; see above, pp. 11, 52.

⁹ *Andr.* 274; cf. Gorgias 6; 11*36.

grove came the son of Zeus and Maia, leading the three chariots of the goddesses, yoked with beauty, armed for the ill-omened strife of grace, to the steading of the oxherd, around the lonely youth and his remote hearth-holding home.' Point is added to point and the end comes only when the music ends. And to make the style more decorative each noun must have its decorative adjective or adjectives;¹ strife is 'ill-omened' and Paris' home 'hearth-holding', although these adjectives do not add much to the picture.

The first chorus of the *Hippolytus*² is a good example of this rich and mannered style: 'There is a rock said to be dripping with Ocean's water, sending a flowing stream from its crags for dipping pitchers, where my friend was wetting purple clothes in the river's dew, and she cast them on the back of the hot and sunny rock.' The chorus have come to the palace because they have heard that the queen is ill, but instead of saying so simply, they give this long and ornamented account of the occasion on which they heard the news; it is a highly embroidered description of washing-day.

(b) *The Realistic Style*

The relaxing of the bonds of *sophrosyne* made possible a free expression of emotion which would have been unthinkable before. Euripides introduces Evadne's self-sacrifice into the *Suppliants*,³ although it stands outside the straight line of the play's development, purely for its emotional effect. It is designed to stir the emotions of the audience like the passages in the orators which Aristotle calls 'For the audience'.⁴ The two speeches of Antiphon which belong to this period have little of this kind,⁵ but

¹ Cf. *Ant.* 1115.

² *Hipp.* 121; cf. 732; *Med.* 825; *Hec.* 444.

³ *Suppl.* 980.

⁴ *Rhetoric*, 1354^a16, 1404^a11.

⁵ Except perhaps Antiphon, i. 19-20; v. 36, 57, 62, 73.

Thrasymachus made a special study of pathetic perorations,¹ and his influence can be seen in the *Heraclidae*,² when Iolaus begs Demophon for protection: 'These children pray you now to show your gratitude. . . . Look at them, look at them. . . . Be their kinsman, be their friend, father, brother, king.' The audience is not moved by the dignity and restraint of the orator, but by his passion and the appeal to their own passions. The demagogue Cleon roared like a mountain torrent.³

The characters of tragedy give vent to their emotion more freely than before. Oedipus expresses his joy, anger, horror, and despair with an abandon quite unknown to Ajax.⁴ But in Sophocles the high points of emotion are still expressed by formulae, and the shaping of the sentence both restrains and emphasizes the feeling.⁵ In Euripides the expression is freer and more realistic. As Schadewaldt⁶ puts it, commenting on the *Medea*, 'within the framework of the speech an inner necessity produces a new expression of pathetic emotion at a moment when passion breaks all the chains of convention and the elemental essence of the daemonic woman expresses itself unconcealed'. Phaedra's opening scene in the *Hippolytus*⁷ is a realistic display of emotion. She is supported on to the stage by her hand-maids. She throws off her head-dress. She yearns for the country and the mountains. Then she changes her mind and asks for her veil and weeps. This kind of vapouring which is as real in its way as Medea's passionate outbursts and agonized decisions is something new in tragedy.

In the *Hippolytus* the reader can follow step by step the movements of Phaedra, the motions and gestures which express her feelings; and in the *Medea*,⁸ when Jason has

¹ Thrasymachus, 5; 6. ² *Heracl.* 220; cf. Gorgias, 11^a33. ³ *Ach.* 381.

⁴ *O.T.* 334, 532 anger; 964 joy; 815 horror; 1391 despair.

⁵ e.g. *O.T.* 1183; cf. above, p. 87.

⁶ *Monolog*, 192.

⁷ *Hipp.* 198.

⁸ *Med.* 923.

agreed with Medea that he should try and obtain Creon's pardon for her children, he notices that her eyes fill with tears and she turns her head aside. Two conclusions can be drawn from such passages: the play of gesture has become freer and more realistic than it was in the earlier part of the century, and the dramatist wants his readers as well as his audience to appreciate these violent displays of emotion.

The gestures of the Greek actor are lost for us, except in so far as they can be guessed from passages of this kind. But the figures on Greek vases provide a substitute, and a superior substitute because they show facial expression as well as gesture. The white lekythoi made in the thirties show less restraint than those of the Achilles painter. On one¹ Sleep and Death are carrying a young warrior. Sleep is badly damaged, but in the wild hair and wide eye of Death and in the hands of the fallen warrior the artist has vividly expressed the emotion of the scene. The Thanatos painter is here reflecting a contemporary tendency of large-scale painting. Parrhasius is said to have been the first to represent the subtleties of expression.² He painted Philoctetes on Lemnos 'with a dumb tear in his weary eye'.³ Zeuxis painted Menelaus 'bathed in tears'⁴ as he poured a libation to his brother. These pictures clearly were remarkable for their representation of passion.

Some considerable picture inspired the Orpheus vase in Berlin. Here the artist has shown the different emotional effects of music on different kinds of people (Pl. 15a).⁵ Orpheus sits in the centre singing to his lyre. His audience consists of four Thracians. One stands with one foot on the rock on which Orpheus is sitting, glowering at him. One

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 535; cf. figs. 545, 546.

² O. 1724; cf. E. Bielefeld, *Archäologische Vermutungen*, with reference to this passage and the Orpheus vase.

³ O. 1709; cf. Rodenwaldt, *Arch. Anz.* 1937, 237.

⁴ O. 1677.

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 554.

stands with his cloak wrapped tightly round him as if to keep out the evil influence. These two are fascinated and yet hostile. The other two, on the left of Orpheus, have surrendered themselves completely to his music. One leans on his spear, his eyes closed, the other has his arm round the shoulder of his friend.

Not only the gestures, but also the appearance, of tragic characters are now described, though more often by Euripides¹ than by Sophocles.² Aristophanes gives a full list of Euripides' beggar heroes in the *Acharnians*³ and mocks at their realism. Although we do not know whether the reader of the *Telephus* would gather that Telephus wore a Mysian cap and carried a beggar's staff, a basket, a broken cup, and a jug, he did himself speak of the beggar's rags about his body.⁴ On a contemporary vase the Lycaon painter has painted Odysseus' visit to the underworld, and has given the hero straggling hair and a furrowed brow.⁵ The big painters also painted realistically. Lucian compares a philosopher with a Titan look and hair standing on end to 'some Autoboreas or Triton as Zeuxis painted them'.⁶ The woman tearing her hair by the Thanatos painter is the nearest approach to the ravaged and wasted forms of Phaedra and Medea.⁷

Thus realism, which before had been either excluded or restricted to minor characters, invades the whole of tragedy. The thoughts, language, and actions of tragic characters come nearer to those of the fifth-century Athenian.⁸ Melanippe knows the latest theories of the physicists.⁹ In the *Andromache*¹⁰ Peleus looks on generals with

¹ e.g. *Alc.* 39; *Hipp.* 1343; *Andr.* 147.

² Cf. however *Ant.* 528.

³ 418 f.

⁴ Fr. 697.

⁵ *J.H.S.* 1934, pl. xi.

⁶ *O.* 1664; cf. 1709.

⁷ Pfuhl, fig. 546; *Med.* 689; *Hipp.* 274.

⁸ For modern thoughts in Euripidean choruses see Kranz, *Stasimon*, 218.

⁹ Fr. 484; cf. *Hec.* 800 (the *physis-nomos* antithesis).

¹⁰ *Andr.* 694; *Ach.* 595; cf. Hermione on women visitors, *Andr.* 943.

the same eyes as Dicaeopolis: 'When the army sets up a trophy over the foe, they do not regard the toilers as responsible, but the general gains the credit; he is one fighter among ten thousand, does no more than any single man, but wins more glory.' The language itself becomes easier, and admits a certain number of colloquialisms: 'My boy, it is perfectly clear that you do not know what you are doing', says the Corinthian in the *Tyrannus*.¹ The iambic metre becomes freer. In the *Tyrannus* eleven of the lines are divided between different speakers.² The pauses are less regular and more realistic. When Peleus arrives to find Menelaus about to slay Andromache, he says: 'What's this? How's this? Why is the house in this turmoil? Why are you going ahead without a trial? Stop, Menelaus. Don't hurry without justice.'³ The free rhythm expresses the haste and impatience of the old man.

The situation itself is unthinkable before Euripides; a slave might arrive panting, but hardly an old and venerable warrior. In the *Heracleidae*,⁴ when the news of victory is brought and Iolaus calls Alcmena out to hear it, she thinks that another herald has come to molest them and tries to threaten him. The realistic representation of a small and pathetic situation like this belongs more to comedy than to tragedy, and Strepsiades' proud account⁵ of his son's cleverness as a child has much the same quality. Pherecrates' *Corianno* had a scene where a woman prepared a meal with the help of a girl. Then another woman comes and asks for a drink. The girl mixes her the wine and water. The dialogue⁶ continues: *Visitor*. 'Nothing in it, Glyce.'

¹ *O.T.* 1008; cf. *Trach.* 427; *Herac.* 284.

² See Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 189, n. γ.

³ *Andr.* 548; cf. *Hec.* 438; *O.T.* 967.

⁴ *Herac.* 646; cf. *Hec.* 670, Hecuba's misunderstanding.

⁵ *Clouds*, 878; cf. *Wasps*, 248, 291 (the boys guide the jurors up the muddy roads and then ask them for sweets).

⁶ 70; cf. 67-9; cf. also the new fragment of Sophron, *C.R.* 1933, 113.

Hostess. 'Did she make it too watery?' *Visitor*. 'Nothing but water.' *Hostess*. 'What did you do? How did you mix it, curse you?' *Girl*. 'Two of water, mummy.' *Hostess*. 'Yes, and of wine?' *Girl*. 'Four.' *Visitor*. 'The devil take you. You ought to be the frogs' cupbearer.' Although there is some caricature of the thirsty visitor, the dialogue belongs to everyday life.

The movement from scene to scene and within scenes is modelled on ordinary life. In both the *Trachiniae* and the *Tyrannus* a completely new situation grows out of a chance word which strikes fire in the mind of the hero, 'Nessus' in the *Trachiniae* and 'triple crossroads' in the *Tyrannus*.¹ In the *Medea*² Aegeus arrives unexpectedly, but at a crucial moment, and explains quite naturally that Corinth lay on his way home. In the *Hippolytus*³ Phaedra overhears the conversation between the nurse and Hippolytus, and this clinches her decision to commit suicide. The scene in the *Hecuba*⁴ where Agamemnon discovers the body of Polydorus, and Hecuba wonders aloud whether she should ask for his help, is the ancestor of many later scenes in comedy. In all these instances a natural transition is achieved from one situation to another.

The action is more natural than before. The vapouring Phaedra is supported on to the stage by her handmaids.⁵ Peleus faints in the *Andromache*.⁶ The nurse of the *Hippolytus* goes on her knees first to Phaedra and then to Hippolytus.⁷ Dicaeopolis prepares himself for the festival while Lamachus prepares for his expedition.⁸ In these various ways drama has achieved the representation of the ordinary person performing the ordinary deed, and the realism

¹ *Trach.* 1142; *O.T.* 726.

² *Med.* 663.

³ *Hipp.* 565.

⁴ *Hec.* 736; cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 30, 210.

⁵ *Hipp.* 198; cf. *Andr.* 548; *Wasps*, 230.

⁶ *Andr.* 1076; cf. *Hec.* 438; *Wasps*, 994.

⁷ *Hipp.* 325, 606.

⁸ *Ach.* 1095.

which was formerly used for caricature has become a naturalism which extends over considerable portions of the play.

Artists also have now investigated the means of presenting an illusion of the real world. The illusion is not yet complete or consistent, but the technique has been discovered and the aim is recognized. Plato makes it clear in the *Republic*¹ that the painter of the later fifth century aimed at making a solid world and was wholly concerned with the appearance of things. Moreover, although the sensible man could show by the measuring stick that the picture only consisted of colours smeared on to a flat surface, the painter was sufficiently successful for the ordinary man to be deceived by the illusion of solidity. Plato uses the phrase *skiagraphia*; other sources² show that this word was applied particularly to the painter Apollodorus who was painting from the thirties. Agatharchus had 'invented' perspective for painting the scenery of Aeschylus.³ *Skiasis* is defined as 'a surface treatment of colour to represent form.'⁴ Apollodorus exploited the use of shading, which before had been restricted to certain solid objects such as shields and was occasionally adopted for the folds of drapery.⁵

The painter has now the means to create a convincing illusion of a solid world. It is unfortunate that the technique of vase-painting (and the obvious incongruity of putting solid scenes on the thin walls of a hollow vase) deprives us of monumental evidence. But it is noticeable that three-quarter faces are now quite common in painting and relief.⁶ The artist manages his outline as if he were accustomed to

¹ *Rep.* 598^b.

² O. 1643.

³ See above, p. 74; and Schuhl, *Platon et l'art de son temps*, 27.

⁴ O. 1646.

⁵ See above, p. 74; Rumpf, *Jb.* 1934, 10.

⁶ e.g. Parthenon frieze; Winter, 274-5; Pfuhl, figs. 515, 555, &c.



a. Boston phiale painter: Actors



b. Pisto Xenus painter: Heracles and Nause.

three-dimensional drawing; look for instance at the fawn by the Lycaon painter¹ and the many foreshortened arms on white lekythoi (Pl. 14a, cf. 14b).² The Eretria painter³ draws the doors leading into an inner room in convincing perspective. On a larger scale, the sculptor of the East pediment of the Parthenon has posed his 'Theseus' and 'Fates' realistically; they sit as they would sit in real life, untrammelled by the framework round them or by the back wall of the pediment (Pl. 16b).⁴

Zeuxis apparently developed the technique of shading still further; he 'discovered the theory of light and shade'.⁵ A story is told that he painted grapes so realistically that the birds came and pecked them.⁶ The story may or may not be true, but is evidence for the aim of painters at this time. The aim is to create the illusion of a real world, just as the dramatist in his naturalistic treatment of certain scenes is creating the illusion of real life.

CONCLUSION

Many elements of the strong style survive into the classical period, because Sophocles had reached the age of forty when Aeschylus died and it is possible that the sculptors who had worked on the temple of Zeus at Olympia also worked on the Parthenon. The guard of the *Antigone* and the nurse of the *Hippolytus* are the successors of the watchman of the *Agamemnon* and the nurse of the *Choephoroi*. The vivid imagery in the speeches of Pericles and Herodotus is like both in kind and in purpose to the imagery of Pindar and Aeschylus. But early classical imagery, magnificence, spectacle, and violence no longer dominate; they are used both in poetry and in art when they are needed.

Piety and *sophrosyne* are the guiding forces of classical

¹ Beazley, *VP.*, pls. 24-5.

² Pfuhl, fig. 543; cf. 560, postures.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 561.

⁴ Winter, 270, fig. 2; 272, fig. 3.

⁵ *O.* 1680.

⁶ *O.* 1649.

art and literature. The procession on the Parthenon frieze, the prayer of Hippolytus, and the rural Dionysia of Dicaeopolis express in different ways Athenian piety. *Sophrosyne* is the restraint which keeps emotion in check. The classical artist feels emotion; there are no more beautiful figures than those of the Parthenon frieze and no better studies of animals than the Lycaon painter's fawn; and Sophocles must sympathize with Antigone and Iocasta to be able to display their characters in detail. But realism is kept in check by the restraint of form, in painting and sculpture by the rhythm or symmetry, and in literature by the various elements of style, which give the whole work, the speech, or the sentence a pattern. Neither side is allowed to develop at the expense of the other, and the emotion of the warrior's departure by the Achilles painter, or of Antigone's last speech, is rather enhanced by the form in which they are cast.

At the same time the growth of the sophistic movement in Athens leads both to a new formal art and to a new realistic art. The elaborate clothes and elegant postures of the Eretria painter's figures, and the rich and mannered style of Euripidean choruses, recall the sophisticated works of the last quarter of the sixth century. In other works the restraint of form is removed, and the poet or artist aims at creating the illusion of a real world, whether the audience are to feel Medea's agony as she decides to kill her children and Menelaus' grief as he weeps at Agamemnon's tomb, or the naturalism of a quieter scene, such as the boys leading the old jurors in the *Wasps* or the grapes of Zeuxis which the birds came and pecked.

The union of pure classical art is precarious, and when under the influence of new thinkers passion becomes more important than modesty and cleverness than wisdom, the two components, realism and formalism, are developed to the jeopardy of the whole.

IV. THE FREE PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

THE last twenty years of the fifth century were disastrous for Athens. The peace of Nicias brought no lasting settlement. About five years after its consummation the Athenians embarked on the Sicilian expedition, which not only wasted ships and men and money, but indirectly caused the success of Sparta when hostilities were renewed. Inside Athens the civil discord, which had been apparent since the death of Pericles, was more acute and in the city's weakness more ruinous than in the earlier years of the war. The bickering of oligarchs and democrats destroyed the prospects of the Sicilian expedition and the conduct of the war with Sparta. The Athenians had a foretaste of oligarchy in the revolution of 411, and experienced its worst form in the reign of the thirty tyrants in 404; then democracy was restored.

In spite of this continual trouble within and without Athens literary and artistic production did not diminish nor was its standard lowered. The new art and literature differ from the old. Something of war weariness finds its expression in luxurious prettiness and romantic fantasy, but still the quantity and quality are amazingly good. Athens is still the centre of the artistic world, and attracts the great men of other cities. It is true that Isocrates went to Thessaly to hear Gorgias, and that Lysias learnt his rhetoric in Thurii. But Western rhetoric was already well known in Athens long before Lysias arrived in 412, and Gorgias himself had spent some time there. It is true also that Archelaus of Macedon attracted poets and artists to his court, but of those who went, Euripides and Agathon were Athenians, while Timotheus and Zeuxis,

who came originally from Miletus and Heraclea respectively, were both well-known figures in Athens. Of the foreign influences at work on Athens the easiest to grasp is the Ionian; Ionia is more active than she has been since the last quarter of the sixth century.

For the twenty-five years which ended with the peace of Nicias it is plausible to separate two lines in Greek thought which are reflected in literature and art, an aristocratic line, pious, modest, and restrained, and a realistic line, sceptical, realistic, and grasping. In the last twenty years of the century the alinement is different—the aristocrat learns the realist lesson. The teaching of the sophists has had its effect, and the irresponsible Alcibiades and the tyrant Critias are its products. The moderate often takes refuge in *apragmosyne*; he withdraws into himself or escapes to another country.

THE OLD VIEW

Yet the old tradition continues, though not unmodified. All that is known of Socrates suggests that he adhered to it; the classical virtues of piety (*eusebia*) and modesty (*sophrosyne*) are the clearest elements in his character, and through him classical thought is the foundation of Plato's philosophy. Oedipus in the *Coloneus*¹ tells the Athenians to believe that the gods look both upon the pious and upon the impious, and that no unholy man ever yet escaped; and Sophocles' three last plays all end with the fulfilment of a prophecy which has been stated in the prologue.² Euripides doubts the validity of oracles and demands a purification of the gods themselves. His *Iphigenia*³ cannot believe that the daughter of Zeus could delight in human sacrifice:

This land of murderers to its god hath given
Its own lust; evil dwelleth not in heaven.

¹ O.C. 278; cf. *El.* 247; Eur. *Bacch.* 882.

² The chorus of the *Electra* state also the certainty of dreams, 498.

³ *I.T.* 380 (tr. Murray); cf. *H.F.* 1341.

But in the *Ion* he gives a picture of divine service. Ion conceives his 'holy life'¹ in the spirit of Hippolytus' prayer to Artemis; his task as temple servant is 'honourable' and 'of good omen'.² When Creusa asks him to question Apollo about her friend's child, he refuses to put a question which might offend the god.³

The other classical virtue, *sophrosyne*, is joined with good counsel and lawfulness in the *Birds*,⁴ and in the speech of the Spartan king Archidamus in the first book of Thucydides.⁵ In a chorus of the *Bacchae*⁶ wisdom (often = modesty) is coupled with quiet: 'Of unbridled lips and lawless madness the end is disaster. The life of quiet and wisdom remains unshattered and sustains the house.' Nearly twenty years before, Aristophanes⁷ had coupled quiet and modesty, but now the emphasis on quiet is more insistent. The two Athenians in the *Birds*⁸ are looking for a quiet place, where the greatest business is a marriage-feast, and the chorus sing of 'the cloudless face of warm-hearted quiet' as one of the blessings of Cloudecuckooland. In the Periclean period excesses had been prevented by the moderate government of the first citizen;⁹ now the moderate man has to seek refuge in quiet.

A more positive ethic is found in a few passages. It is a common Greek assumption that to wrong one's enemies is justifiable and that within limits aggression is venial. But in the *Helen*¹⁰ Euripides urges that earth and air are common to all and provide enough for all without plunder. And in the *Philoctetes*,¹¹ when Neoptolemus has given Philoctetes his bow and Philoctetes prepares to shoot

¹ *Ion*, 56.² *Ibid.* 131, 134.³ *Ibid.* 370.⁴ *Birds*, 1539; cf. 1433; *Frogs*, 727.⁵ Thuc. i. 84. 3; cf. iv. 17. 5.⁶ *Bacch.* 389; cf. 902, 1002.⁷ See above, p. 99.⁸ *Birds*, 44, 128, 1321; cf. Amphion's defence of quiet in the debate of the *Antiope*; and *Ion*, 585.⁹ Thuc. ii. 65. 9.¹⁰ *Hel.* 903.¹¹ *Phil.* 1304; cf. *Ion*, 1325-35.

Odysseus, at whose hands he has suffered cruelly, Neoptolemus prevents him, saying: 'This is neither honourable for you nor me.' Such passages suggest that Socrates had already propounded his view that the just man can in no circumstances do harm.¹

THE CLASSICAL STYLE

The representation of ideal characters is still the aim of Sophoclean tragedy, and several of the characters in the later plays can be directly compared with characters in the earlier plays.² The later portraits are fuller than the earlier, but lack something in simplicity and clarity of line, just as the ideal statues of this period lack the simplicity of their immediate ancestors³ (Pls. 13c and 22). Electra is more emotional than Antigone. She gives way to helpless grief and useless anger.⁴ She herself recognizes that she can neither be *sophron* (obey Clytemnestra and Aegisthus) nor *eusebes* (do her duty to Agamemnon), and that her conduct ill befits her.⁵ When she believes that Orestes is dead, she heroically but madly proposes to murder Aegisthus,⁶ and when she finds Orestes by her side she throws off all control and speaks scornfully of the 'worthless weight of women within', until she is forcibly restrained by Orestes.⁷ She says much more of her loss of marriage and husband⁸ than Antigone, and is almost morbid in her desperate love of Orestes.⁹ The minor qualities which are sketched lightly in the earlier portraits are brought into greater prominence even than in the Oedipus of the *Tyrannus*.

Euripides in the later plays is more interested in the

¹ Plato, *Rep.* 335^d.

² e.g. Electra with Antigone, Philoctetes with Ajax.

³ e.g. Winter, 283, fig. 2, with Beazley, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 94 (Demeter of Charchel).

⁴ *El.* 140, 330; cf. *Phil.* 1095; *O.C.* 592.

⁵ *El.* 307, 616.

⁶ *Ibid.* 938.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1241, 1259.

⁸ *Ibid.* 164, 187, 962.

⁹ *Ibid.* 808, 1143.

reactions of different characters to different situations than in the characters themselves. Except for Heracles in the *Hercules Furens*, which belongs to the very beginning of the free period, no character has the positive force of Medea or Phaedra or even Andromache. Hecuba, though a consistent character and on the stage for the whole play, only suffers in the *Trojan Women*; in the *Hecuba* she acted. Although most of his characters are, as Sophocles said, realistic, Electra's husband in the *Electra*¹ may truly be called ideal. Electra's husband 'is neither great among the Argives nor puffed with the nobility of his line, but one of the many, yet proved most noble'.² His restraint is inborn, and he has an exquisite sympathy for Electra and a true sense of hospitality towards the travellers. Perhaps Euripides, like Aristophanes, found in the honest countryman a truer ideal than in the noble who was now perverted by the education of the sophists.³ Thucydides draws an ideal portrait of Nicias; apart from the speeches, he is said to be 'the least worthy of all the Greeks in my time to come to such misfortune because his whole life was directed to virtue'.⁴ Of the orators Lysias puts more individuality into his portraits than Antiphon; his Polystratus⁵ is an elderly man who has spent his life in serving his country and brought up his sons to do the same.

The development of character is now shown fully and convincingly; the best example is Neoptolemus in the *Philoctetes*. He hates the part assigned to him by Odysseus because it is contrary to his inherited *physis*, but his desire for military glory overcomes him.⁶ The end of his lying speech to Philoctetes betrays his consciousness of guilt, and

¹ Cf. Pylades in the *I.T.*, Antigone in the *Phoen.*, Iphigenia in the *I.A.* ² *El.* 380, 45, 261, 363. ³ Cf. *Or.* 917; *Bacch.* 431.

⁴ Thuc. vii. 86. 5.

⁵ Lysias, xx. 2, 10, 23; we are told a little about the defendant in Antiphon's *Choreut* speech; vi. 1, 11. ⁶ *Phil.* 88, 120.

he says significantly: 'clever plans are often hindered'; when he has heard the tale of the disguised sailor, he is clearly disturbed and plays for time.¹ The crisis comes when he sees Philoctetes' agony: 'all is hard when a man abandons his nature to do wrong'; but he is not yet free, and does not give Philoctetes back his bow; Philoctetes' appeal would have broken him finally, had not Odysseus appeared at the right moment.² Only when he has left Philoctetes does he discover that he cannot live on these terms; he returns and gives Philoctetes his bow, and when Philoctetes still refuses to come to Troy, is prepared, regardless of the consequences, to take him home.³ Neoptolemus grows up in this play, and learns to value his personal integrity more highly than the glittering prizes of military glory. It is the old sequence of suffering and learning, but the suffering is mental instead of physical and each stage in the process is made clear.

The later plays of Euripides have several examples of the development of a character through disaster to *sophrosyne*, ranging from the rough and violent tyrants who are finally persuaded by the personal appearance of a god⁴ to the detailed study of Heracles in the *Hercules Furens*. Heracles in spite of his great benefits to mankind is a boastful fighter, who would 'go and destroy the palace of the new king, cut off his cursed head and throw it to the dogs to tear'.⁵ After his madness he is first only conscious of the terrible pollution which he fears will infect Theseus, and is prepared to die because of the enmity of the gods.⁶ Later, he wins through to a higher theology: 'these are the miserable tales of poets', and a higher philosophy, that it would be cowardice to die.⁷ Nowhere else has Euripides

¹ *Phil.* 387, 431, 639. ² *Ibid.* 895, 925, 965. ³ *Ibid.* 1224, 1251, 1402.

⁴ e.g. Thoas in the *I.T.*; cf. repentance of Cadmus in the *Bacchae*.

⁵ *H.F.* 849, 565.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1233, 1243.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1346, 1347; on this speech, see Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 182.



Nike Balustrade. Sandal-binder.

traced with such power and detail the change from the man of action to the man of reflection.¹

Characterization is helped, as before, by contrast of characters and tragic irony. In Sophocles' *Electra*, Electra is contrasted with the 'modest' chorus, the realist Chrysothemis, the unscrupulous Clytemnestra, and the prudent Orestes. The audience's sympathy is won by Electra's opposition to Chrysothemis and Clytemnestra; therefore, although they know and have recently been reminded that the report of Orestes' death is false, they hear the messenger speech with Electra's ears, and disbelieve Chrysothemis when she returns to say that Orestes has visited Agamemnon's tomb. This is the advanced form of tragic irony, first found in the Tiresias scene of the *Tyrannus*.

Simpler contrasts are found in other authors.² Lysias makes contrast of characters a powerful method of stirring the jury, when he compares his own family with the thirty tyrants:

'We had performed all liturgies, paid many taxes, shown ourselves orderly and obedient, and we had no enemy but had ransomed many Athenians from their foes. So they treated us foreigners who had behaved very differently from themselves who were citizens. For they drove many citizens into the arms of the enemy, killed many unjustly and left them without burial, disfranchised many who were enfranchised, prevented many from marrying off their daughters.'³

The classical style is a formal style and the classical dramatist adopts typical forms for play and scene. Sophocles continues to use his canonical form of play with the long second act. Euripides has made recognition scene, intrigue and execution of intrigue into stock scenes, which

¹ Cf. the opposite change in *Ion*, and in *Iphigenia in the I.A.*

² Pentheus and Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, Zethus and Amphion in *Antiope*; Heracles and Dionysus, Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs*; Athenians and Spartans in Thucydides, i; Virtue and Vice in Prodicus' *Choice of Heracles*.

³ Lysias, xii. 20-1.

are combined in various ways; three plays¹ have the sequence — recognition, intrigue, execution of intrigue. The addition of scenes describing the chief characters before the recognition scene and of a divine appearance at the end completes the structure of these plays, and they move in direct and unbroken course from opening to close.² The three late plays of Sophocles have a clear linear structure; in the *Coloneus* Oedipus says in the prologue that he is fated to destroy his oppressors before he dies, and Ismene in the first act shows that the attack will come both from Poly-nices and from Creon.³ Aristophanes also, although his last plays fall outside our period, is on the way towards the comedy of continuous action, 'la pièce d'intrigue', as Mazon calls it.⁴ The lack of unity in his earlier plays has undoubtedly been overstressed,⁵ but partly because of the decrease in the formal elements and the variation in their arrangement—the parabasis in particular is greatly reduced⁶—the development from plan to elaboration, execution, and fulfilment proceeds with little interruption in all the four plays of our period.

The unity of classical structure depends both on emphasis of the forward movement and on avoidance of digressions or 'purple patches'. Some of the later plays of Euripides are more loosely composed than the plays of intrigue, and are descended from the *Andromache* rather than the *Medea*. The *Hercules Furens*, like the *Andromache*, contains three different stories, the rescue of Megara, the madness of Heracles, and the reclaiming of Heracles; both the second and third actions are started by new characters, Lyssa and Theseus, who arrive without

¹ *El.*, *Hel.*, *I.T.*

² So also *Bacchae*, *I.A.*

³ The prologues of *El.* and *Phil.* warn the audience of the course of the play and the entry of characters.

⁴ Mazon, *Composition*, 124, 136.

⁵ See above, p. 118.

⁶ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, §c., 292 ff.

warning or preparation. The figure of Heracles, not the composition, holds the play together. Similarly the *Trojan Women* consists of a number of events that happen to Hecuba rather than of a swift and inevitable sequence of incidents.¹ The principle of composition is different from the classical principle; the plot has become a thread to uphold a number of highly elaborated single scenes. In Timotheus' *Persae* the narrative is a means of connecting the four realistic laments into a whole. It may be unfair to judge the history of Thucydides since he presumably died before it was completed; but it would seem probable that his history was designed to be a more or less even flow of events narrated chronologically with certain moments elaborated with great detail and vividness;² he certainly had no fear of digressions.

Within the general structure the transition from part to part may be flowing or defined, according as writers follow the sensuous or sophisticated style. In the plays of Sophocles the characters often glide by a natural transition from one situation to another. When Clytemnestra has heard all that Electra has to say, she asks to be allowed to sacrifice; thus the play naturally moves from the debate between Electra and Clytemnestra to Clytemnestra's prayer and the arrival of the messenger.³ Euripides on the other hand normally writes short scenes, and starts a new action after a chorus;⁴ long scenes⁵ he divides into definite sections. Aristophanes also likes clear definition; in the *Frogs*⁶ the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides

¹ In the *Phoenissae* the debate on democracy, the heroism of Menoeceus, and the unexpected appearance of Oedipus at the end are 'purple patches'.

² Cf. Aly, *Rh. Mus.* 1928, 376.

³ *El.* 630; see above, p. 143.

⁴ *Ion*, 725 (arrival of Creusa and old man).

⁵ *I.T.* 638 (Iphigenia goes off to fetch tablet).

⁶ *Frogs*, 755; cf. *Birds*, 1494 (Prometheus announces the coming of the gods).

has its own separate prologue in the scene between Aeacus and Xanthias.

The contrast between flowing and defined transition can be seen in speeches. Amphitryon's defence of Heracles in the *Hercules Furens*, which has been rightly called a rhetorical epideixis,¹ is clear and definite in disposition. After a prologue, Amphitryon defends Heracles 'first' against the charge of cowardice, punctuating this section by the repetition of the verb 'ask' ('I ask the thunderbolt . . . ask the Centaurs . . . asking Dirphys'); and then he defends the use of the bow as a weapon. He passes by a Homeric transition to an appeal to Lycus, and after a break to an appeal to Thebes. He ends with a strong conclusion: 'If I were young and still strong of limb, I would take steel and over-blood those golden locks, and he would be flying beyond the boundaries of Atlas in dread of my spear.' Oedipus' first speech to the chorus in the *Coloneus*² will be found no less clear in disposition, but one section grows naturally out of another without a marked transition. Sophocles is writing in the Ionian tradition, which can be traced back at least to Xenophanes.³

Of the orators Lysias, who in spite of certain formulae⁴ often passes from section to section without clearly marking the new beginning, is nearer to Sophocles. Isocrates is nearer to Euripides, because he marks his transitions carefully with such phrases as 'I think, remember, I could wish' or with the Homeric transition.⁵ Thucydides' speeches also are clearly constructed as they move from strong pro-

¹ *H.F.* 170; cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 181; cf. *Soph. El.* 516 (analysed by Webster, *Introduction to Sophocles*, 149).

² *O.C.* 258, analysed by Radermacher into prologue, proof i, proof ii, epilogue.

³ See above, p. 11.

⁴ Cf. Jebb, *Attic Orators*, 179, on Lysias' speech form; *formula for narratio*, xxxi. 7; *Homeric transition*, xxiv. 4.

⁵ e.g. xviii. 4, 12, 16, 19, 27, 35, 42, 51, 58.

logue to strong conclusion; thus the first speech of Pericles¹ has been analysed into prologue, cause of the war, prospect of the war: i. Peloponnese; ii. Athens (connected by Homeric transition); iii. conclusion: answer to Sparta (connected by Homeric transition), epilogue.

Although the artistic material is scanty, enough remains to give examples of continuous and discontinuous composition and of definite and slurred transitions. The larger vases of the Meidias painter² (Pl. 23) are all adorned with well organized compositions; in the Rape of the Leucippidae altar and image make a central vertical, the Dioscuri and their chariots a V based on the altar, and the whole is held down by the balancing figures of Zeus on the left and flying maiden on the right. On the other hand the Nike balustrade³ consists of a series of independent compositions with no unity of movement like the Parthenon frieze. 'The slabs often seem complete in themselves, but they compose a frieze in which winged Victories appear in various attitudes.'⁴ The frieze lacks the unity of movement of classical compositions, although the artists have not the supreme disregard for the natural limitations of shape and space found in the Ionian Trysa frieze.⁵

Similarly both definition and flowing transition appear in Athenian works of this time. The maidens of the Erechtheum (Pl. 22, cf. 23)⁶ have clear and definite forms; the line of the overfall is firmly marked, and the stiff leg is distinguished from the bent leg by a different treatment of the drapery. In the Dionysiac scenes of the Dinos painter (Pl. 15b)⁷ the whole composition is bound into a unity of

¹ Thuc. i. 140, 140.2, 141.2, 143.2, 144, 144.2, 144.3; cf. R. Zahn, *Erste Perikles-Rede*.

² Pfuhl, figs. 593-5.

³ Winter, 286, figs. 1-3; Carpenter, *Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, fig. 14.

⁴ Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, 223.

⁵ Winter, 262-3; cf. Harpy tomb, above, p. 11.

⁶ Winter, 283, fig. 2; cf. vases of Meidias painter.

⁷ Pfuhl, figs. 581-2.

passionate movement by the frequent overlapping of the figures.

On a minute scale a comparison of periodic sentences shows the same difference between the organic structure of classical composition and a freer system in which part is added to part. Thucydides provides examples of both. The sentence¹ in which he describes the situation before the peace of Nicias starts with a temporal clause describing Cleon and Brasidas; Nicias and Pleistoanax are named before the main verb so that the reader is led on naturally to the causes which made these two desire peace. In spite of its twenty lines the sentence has a clear structure; but Lysias² is more concerned for form and therefore his organic periods are more successful.

Thucydides' desire to give his reader all the factors operating in a single situation makes a looser construction more suitable. He describes in ten lines the desertion of the wounded when the Athenians departed from Syracuse.³ The short main sentence is followed by three long participial phrases in apposition to the subject, then a consecutive clause, and finally a double concessive clause. This type of sentence, which may be described as an aggregate rather than a unity, descends immediately from the display speeches of Gorgias and more remotely from hymns; it is developed on more formal lines by Isocrates in the fourth century.⁴

The looser type of composition can be held together by the symmetrical balance so dear to the Greek composer of all periods and styles. In Sophocles the forward direction is so strong that balance is not strictly necessary; yet in the *Electra* the two Chrysothemis scenes correspond to

¹ Thuc. v. 16. ² e.g. Lysias, xxxi. 1, 17-18; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 331 f.

³ Thuc. vii. 75. 4.

⁴ See above, p. 137; cf. now Eur. *I.A.* 164; Antiphon, vi. 45; Isocrates, xxi. 14, xviii. 59.

each other, and the reception of the old man by Clytemnestra contrasts with the reception of Orestes by Electra—old man and queen, young man and 'slave'.¹ In Aristophanes too the later comedies move swiftly forward, but especially in the *Birds* and *Lysistrata* the use of corresponding scenes is remarkable. In both plays the execution of the plan has both comic and serious effects; the comic effects prepare for and balance the serious effects. In the *Birds* the balance goes further; both comic and serious sections are divided into effects on men and effects on gods, and in the serious section three men, parricide, Cinesias, and sycophant, correspond to the three gods, Poseidon, Triballus, and Heracles.

Some plays of Euripides have not the swift movement of the intrigue plays and in all of these the balance of scenes is clear. The *Trojan Women* is symmetrically composed to compensate for its lack of movement. The divine prologue stands outside. The kommatic parodos is echoed by the final kommos. The Cassandra scene and the Helen scene both stand outside the natural development of the play and are elaborated into independent display pieces. In the scenes before and after the Cassandra scene the interest centres on Polyxena; in the scenes before and after the Helen debate the interest centres on Astyanax, so that the form of the whole play runs: a | b | c.d.c | c.d.c | b. Thus the principle of balancing and contrasting scenes can be followed to the end of the history of Greek tragedy.²

¹ In the *Phil.* the opening scene finds its complement in the last act; in the *O.C.* the arrival of the devoted daughter Ismene is contrasted with the arrival of the unfeeling son Polynices.

² The *H.F.* is very like the *Andromache*; in each half there is despair, rescue, and solution (see above, p. 119). In the *Bacchae* the sequence runs: Dionysus—Cadmus—*Pentheus*—Dionysus is defeated by *Pentheus*—*Persuasion of Pentheus*—*Pentheus* is defeated by Dionysus—*Agave*—Cadmus—Dionysus.

It is unnecessary to speak in detail about symmetry in works of art, because except on the long and narrow spaces of a frieze symmetry is the natural nerve of composition. In the large pictures of the Meidias painters such as the Rape of the Leucippidae to which reference has already been made (Pl. 23),¹ the figures are arranged in free symmetry about the centre; the mass of figures on the left of the centre balances the mass on the right, and individual figures or groups often correspond. The designer of the Nike balustrade, if Carpenter's restoration is correct,² has used symmetry to compensate for the lack of continuous movement. On the shorter North and South sides the two central slabs contain a scene of sacrifice, and the flanking slabs, three on either side, are decorated with attendant Victories and trophies; the longer West side has similar flanking scenes and three slabs representing the sacrifice in the middle.

Classical writers and artists achieve definition by the same means as in the preceding period. The tragic poet uses his chorus to heighten the emotion of the preceding scene and thus emphasize the break with the next scene;³ or the song breaks with the emotional tone of the preceding scene and anticipates what comes afterwards.⁴ Contrast is also provided by the lyrical 'interludes' introduced by Euripides and Agathon into tragedy. These are songs with little or no connexion in subject with the action in hand and completely different in tone, since they are richly decorated narratives.⁵ The poet, aware of the value of contrast, puts in a 'purple patch' out of harmony with the surrounding material. Besides these contrasts of tone the boundaries of the sections are emphasized by closed com-

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 593; cf. figs. 594-5.

² *Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, fig. 14.

³ *Phil.* 730; *O.C.* 1211; *H.F.* 763.

⁴ *Ion*, 676.

⁵ *Tro.* 511; *I.A.* 751; *Ar. Poet.* 1456^a29 (Agathon).



Nike Balustrade: Nike mounting stairway.

position in art¹ and by ring form, keyword, and gnomic conclusion in literature.²

The classical style employs formulae to emphasize important or emotional passages. Although the play on words,³ which often serves this purpose, is not capable of English rendering, the use of three form, antithetic balance, and anaphora in pathetic narrative can be illustrated from Lysias' speech⁴ against Eratosthenes, where Lysias is describing the behaviour of the Thirty after the death of his brother Polemarchus:

'And when he was carried from the prison dead, though we had three houses, they did not allow the funeral to take place from any one of them but hired a hut and laid the body there. And though we had many garments, they did not give us one when we asked for the burial but his friends gave one a garment, one a pillow, and others whatever they had, for his burial. And though they had seven hundred shields of ours, though they had silver and gold, bronze and ornaments and furniture and womens' garments more than they had ever thought they would possess, and a hundred and twenty slaves of whom they took the best and gave the others to the treasury, they went to these lengths of greed and avidity and gave an exhibition of their own character. The golden ear-rings of Polemarchus' wife which she was wearing when first he came into the house, Melobius took out of her ears.'

This passage consists of a crescendo of three sentences, consisting of participial phrase, main sentence, and antithetical sentence (the form is slightly altered in the last sentence). The list of possessions is also arranged in three form: 'silver and gold, bronze . . . garments, and . . . slaves'.⁵ Anaphora occurs twice, in the second sentence in staccato:

¹ Pfuhl, figs. 551, 562, 595; Winter, 261; 284, fig. 4.

² *Ring form: Tro.* 680-41. *Keywords: H.F.* 177. *Gnomic Conclusion: Phil.* 502.

³ e.g. *Phil.* 958; *Bacch.* 955.

⁴ Lysias, xii. 18-19. This leads eventually to the contrast of characters, quoted above, p. 153.

⁵ Cf. Lysias, xii. 78.

'one a garment, one a pillow, others . . .';¹ the third sentence begins with two longer clauses both introduced by the same nominative participle, which is translated 'though they had'.²

The sense of form also finds expression in the flowing rhythms of lyric poetry. The tragedies of this period contain many songs written in the short echoing lines which recall the metres of Anacreon. The choriambics and glyconics in the triumph song of the *Hercules Furens*³ are admirably adapted to the joyous subject; but such metres are now used in so many different types of song that it may be doubted whether they have not crossed the narrow boundary which separates form from manner. The same is true of the echoing folds in contemporary art, particularly relief sculpture, which recall the best work of the ripe archaic period. While parts of the Nike balustrade, the sandal binder and the standing Nike for instance (Pl. 19),⁴ are in the pure tradition of classical art, other slabs are rich and mannered. The best slabs are worthy of Carpenter's description 'a flower just in blossom and not yet full blown'.⁵

Sweetness combined with linear economy is the distinctive mark of classical art. Some sculpture (Pl. 19)⁶ preserves a firm linear structure, and in the white lekythoi of the Reed painter (Pl. 116)⁷ the line reaches a strength and subtlety unachieved before. The sculptors Calamis and Callimachus seem to have belonged to the circle that produced the Nike balustrade. It is, therefore, intelligible that Dionysius of Halicarnassus should compare 'their subtlety

¹ Cf. Lysias, xxiv. 20, xxxii. 5; Thuc. vi. 30. 2; O.C. 1245.

² Cf. *Phil.* 530; *Bacch.* 1323.

³ *H.F.* 763; cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 181, 238; cf. parodos of *Phaethon*; O.C. 668.

⁴ Winter, 286, figs. 2, 3.

⁵ *Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, 82; cf. von Salis, op. cit. 117, on the stele of Hegeso (Winter, 284, fig. 4).

⁶ The Nike slabs already quoted; the tombstone of Hegeso; 'Venus genetrix' (Winter, 267, fig. 4).

⁷ Pfuhl, figs. 551-2.

and grace' with the oratory of Lysias.¹ The long section of the Eratosthenes speech² in which Polemarchus' capture is described exemplifies Lysias' economy. In the description of the public funeral³ accorded to the casualties of the first year of the war Thucydides' prose has the true classical quality of simplicity and restraint. This quality of linear sweetness is found in many passages of the later plays of Sophocles and Euripides in spite of the more realistic versification of the late fifth century.⁴ Murray's translation of part of Iphigenia's speech⁵ as she goes in to fetch the tablet excellently renders the quality of the original:

Yet, Oh, thou art from Argos: all of care
That can be, I will give and fail thee not.
Rich raiment to thy burial shall be brought,
And oil to cool thy pyre in golden floods,
And sweet that from a thousand mountain buds
The murmuring bee hath garnered, I will throw
To die with thee in fragrance.

In many of the works of art and literature which have just been mentioned the realism and emotion beneath the formal control are easy to perceive. Works like the Hegeso stele and the sandal binder of the Nike balustrade (Pl. 19)⁶ could not have been carved without a vivid feeling for the sensuous moulding of the female form and the texture and folds of cloth. In these works realism keeps the sculptor on the right side of mannerism and a new court style. Similarly, the restrained descriptions of Lysias and Thucydides imply a clear and immediate appreciation of the details of the scene.⁷ What Schadewaldt⁸ calls 'die allgemeine

¹ S.J. 87.

² Lysias, xii. 6-17; leading to the pathetic climax already quoted.

³ ii. 34 (preparations for funeral); cf. iii. 22 (Plataea).

⁴ Soph. *El.* 634, 757; *O.C.* 607; Eur. *Bacch.* 1084.

⁵ *I.T.* 630.

⁶ Winter, 284, fig. 4 (Hegeso); 286, fig. 2 (sandal binder); cf. 266, figs. 1-2 (Nereid monument); 267, fig. 4 (Venus genetrix).

⁷ Cf. Thuc. vi. 30, vii. 70.

⁸ *Monolog*, 173.

Hellenische Sachfreudigkeit' is seen also in tragedy. Many of the similes are fresh and vivid.¹ The messenger speeches² of the late fifth century are remarkable for their length, elaboration, and detail. The poet has an interest in the details and atmosphere of the scene which could already be seen in the classical period, but is further developed now. In the three late plays of Sophocles the place of action is carefully described, and the chorus of the *Ion*³ give a detailed account of the temple. One of the most remarkable instances of this feeling for nature is the opening song of the palace slaves in the *Phaethon*.⁴

But now appears the dawn
 New risen and guides her car
 Across the land, and high above my head
 The Pleiad wanes, night's star.
 And now among the trees
 At dawn the nightingale
 Pours from the branches forth her tender strain,
 Her never ending wail,
 Crying for Itys, Itys, yet again.
 And dwellers on the mountains
 That drive their flocks to feed
 Lift up their pipes to play them,
 And many a chestnut steed
 With his yoke-fellow by him
 Awakes to crop the mead.
 And they that hunt wild creatures in their lair,
 These too are there
 And to their task betake them with the day;
 While now by Ocean's springs
 Loud toned the wild swan sings
 Her clear sweet lay.

¹ *Hel.* 262; *Bacch.* 866, 1066; cf. *Lysistr.* 568. Contrast the decorative similes, *H.F.* 110, 487; *Phoen.* 835.

² *Ion*, 1132; *Bacch.* 677.

³ *Ion*, 184.

⁴ Tr. E. S. Barlow; cf. *Soph. El.* 17; *O.C.* 668,

Small boats put on the seas
 Sped by their oars, blown on by favouring gales;
 While sailors cry out as they raise their sails,
 'Bring us back, gracious breeze,
 With no cruel waves attending,
 Back, while the winds abate,
 To where our children and our dear wives wait,
 Back to our journey's ending.'
 And the blown canvas rests against the forestay bending.

Schadewaldt¹ remarks that from the time of the *Trojan Women* much more notice is taken in the monodies of the place of action; he says that 'space is filled with an emotion-steeped atmosphere'. The words fit no scene better than the anapaestic opening of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*,² whether written by Euripides himself or not. Agamemnon hurries the old man out of the tent, and asks him: 'What star voyages there?' *O.M.* 'Sirius near the seven-pathed Pleias, still in the midst of his course.' *Ag.* 'No sound of birds or sea. The winds are silent over the Euripus.' *O.M.* 'Why do you leave your tent, Lord Agamemnon? It is still quiet here in Aulis and the guards on the walls have not stirred.'

A similar emotional atmosphere is captured in the red-figure painting of Pelops and Hippodamia (Pl. 24).³ Pelops drives his fiery horses on to the sea; he has now completely escaped Oenomaus. The sea is indicated by a dolphin and waves, the land by grass, mountains, a pair of doves, and two bay-trees. The fresh sea-breeze sways their branches and blows out Pelops' hair. On a number of other vases (Pls. 14*b*, 15*b*, and 23)⁴ the scene is enacted in the open air and the landscape represented by trees and plants as well as by lines showing the lie of the ground; and the sculptors of the Trysa and Nereid monuments⁵ instead of the

¹ *Monolog*, 172.

² *I.A.* 6.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 583.

⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 579, 582, 593-5; cf. also fig. 560 (classical period).

⁵ Winter, 262-3, 265.

ordinary battle without indication of place have shown the storming of a town, and have represented the walls of the town and the buildings behind the walls.

Thus the methods of the classical style survive through the free period, and many works of literature and art contain elements which can be called classical. But the boundary between the sunny realism of the classical style and the naturalism of the new style is narrower than before, and it is not always easy to draw the distinction clearly between classical form and the new mannerism. Even works in the classical tradition are affected at least in detail by the new style.

THE NEW VIEW

The change of spirit in the latter part of the century can be seen in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles and the history of Thucydides, which is the major surviving prose work of the period. The last plays of Sophocles are both more cheerful and more hopeless than the earlier: more cheerful because the suffering is in the end relieved (and many of the Euripidean plays of this period end happily); more hopeless because in the earlier plays the suffering of the hero or heroine is the direct result of his shortcomings, while in the later plays, although the hero has shortcomings, the suffering comes from an external cause. The world is less under control than it was. The *Philoctetes*, which is less far removed from contemporary life than the other two late plays, has three important characters, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus, and Odysseus. Philoctetes belongs to the old order; he holds to standards which Neoptolemus abandons and Odysseus has never known. Odysseus is the modern self-seeking official who pursues his right end by wrong means; Sophocles drew a similar figure a few years later in the Creon of the *Coloneus*, and the distance between this later Creon and the Creon of the *Antigone* is a measure of Sophocles' stiffening hatred of the type. Neoptolemus is

the young noble who is led astray by the realistic philosophy of Odysseus, and finds himself again because he pities Philoctetes' suffering and admires his fortitude. Just as twenty years before something of Pericles went into the composition of Oedipus, so now something of Critias and Alcibiades has gone into the composition of Neoptolemus; they started from the same tradition and succumbed to the same temptation, but unlike him failed to recover themselves. Sophocles belongs to the old order and still holds its beliefs, but his later plays reflect something of the weariness, emotion, and realism of the new world.

The outlook of Thucydides might not have been so very different from that of Herodotus considering that Thucydides must have begun his history before Herodotus completed his, and that both moved in the same kind of Athenian society. Herodotus, as the friend of Sophocles, was at home in aristocratic circles. Thucydides was related to Cimon's successor, Thucydides son of Melesias, and in his history he commends nobody except Pericles, the aristocrat Nicias, and Antiphon, who contrived the oligarchic revolution of the four hundred. But while Herodotus sees the fall of Xerxes as the result of *hybris*, Thucydides bases his history on the realist philosophy of Thrasymachus. He states again and again that the actions of states and men are determined by their power, *dynamis* (or the fear of others' *dynamis*),¹ and by their desire for gain. Before the Trojan War 'in their desire for gain the weaker endured the slavery imposed by the stronger, and the stronger who had an excess of power made the lesser cities their subjects'.² In his analysis of civil strife Thucydides says that the driving force which caused the evil was ambition and covetousness.³ Finally, in the Melian dialogue,⁴ 'to rule whatever is con-

¹ Thuc. i. 88, 118; cf. Täubler, *Archäologie*, 111.

² Thuc. i. 8. 3; cf. i. 76. 2 (Athenians at Sparta); ii. 63. 2 (Pericles).

³ Ibid. iii. 82. 8.

⁴ Ibid. v. 105.

quered' is said to be a universal necessity of human nature, a principle which 'the Athenians neither established nor used for the first time, but found already existing and will leave behind them to exist for all time'. An Athenian hearing or reading these words would remember the very similar phraseology of Sophocles, when Antigone asserts the eternal validity of the laws of god.¹ The reminiscence is intended to give the validity of the old laws to the new realist philosophy. Nor was Thucydides alone among the aristocrats in holding this political theory. The anonymous writer who is known to scholars as the Old Oligarch² starts from the same presuppositions as Thucydides when he justifies the advantages given to the common people in Athens by the fact that the common people man the fleet, and the fleet gives the city its power.

Eteocles in the *Phoenissae* is a picture of the modern man whose god is Tyranny; 'it is unmanly to lose the more and accept the less'.³ Iocasta suggests another goddess, Equality, the balance of forces which rules in the universe and should rule in the state. But Eteocles begs to be 'quit of her longchidings'; he will go to 'the stars of the dawn or beneath the earth for tyranny'. Of the many characters sketched by Thucydides the self-seeking aristocrat Alcibiades is the clearest embodiment of the new spirit, and the reader⁴ is told of his political genius, his desire for the generalship, his hopes that the conquest of Sicily would recoup the losses due to his ruinous extravagance, the lawlessness of his life, and the suspicion that he was aiming at being tyrant. His character is seen most clearly in the

¹ *Ant.* 456.

² Xenophon, *Ath. Pol.* i. 2.

³ Eur. *Phoen.* 504 ff.; cf. the realistic outlook of the old slave in the *Ion*, 1045; of Chrysothemis in Soph. *El.* 338, 1042 (contrast Ismene, *Ant.* 536).

⁴ Thuc. vi. 15. 2; cf. the self-seeking democrat Cleon, *ibid.* iii. 36. 6, 37.



Nike Balustrade 'Importunate' Nike.

speech which he makes at Sparta, when he claims that by lending them his aid against his own country he is acting as the true patriot because he is doing all in his power to recover his country.¹

Thucydides is more deeply versed than Herodotus in the thought and practice of scientists and sophists. It has been pointed out that he owes a great debt to the doctors, to Hippocrates and his school.² He prefaces his account of the plague with these words:³ 'I will tell of what sort it was, and the marks by which, supposing it were ever to occur again, a man might with foreknowledge not fail to recognize it I will declare, having been sick of it myself and having seen others suffering.'⁴ Then he describes the symptoms and the course of the plague in detail. It is a doctor's account designed to be of use in any future outbreak. Similarly he says of his whole history that he will be satisfied if it is judged useful by those who want a clear description of the past, and of what is humanly likely to recur in the future.⁴

Human motives are an essential part of historical events and these he represents either in his character studies of individual figures such as Alcibiades⁵ or in psychological analyses of more general reactions to given events like his account of the party strife at Corcyra which leads to the analysis of the motives underlying party strife as a whole.⁶ Under the influence of the sophists and the rhetoricians, he develops further Herodotus' method⁷ of marking a crisis in the story by opposed speeches of important characters. Thucydides introduces debates on no less than eleven important occasions; in particular, the great debate at Sparta marks the beginning of the war, the Melian dialogue shows the complete triumph of realistic politics in Athens, and the

¹ Thuc. vi. 92. 2. ² Cochrane, *Thucydides and the Science of History*.

³ Thuc. ii. 48. 3.

⁴ Ibid. i. 22. 4.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* i. 138. 3 (Themistocles).

⁶ Ibid. iii. 82.

⁷ Deffner, *Die Rede bei Herodot.* 91.

debate between Nicias and Alcibiades gives a picture of the psychological forces behind the Sicilian expedition.¹ In detail Thucydides owes much of his style to the sophist Gorgias and his accurate definition of terms to the sophist Prodicus.²

Thucydides³ has little of the classical piety of Herodotus; he has no interest in the gods or in cult, and he does not believe in oracles. To judge from other writers, his attitude was common in the late fifth century. Euripides' characters criticize the gods of mythology as freely as before, and when Orestes calls Apollo's oracle 'a great folly', his opinion is confirmed by the Dioscuri themselves.⁴ In another play⁵ Orestes says that the gods who are called so wise are no wiser than winged dreams, and thus discredits at once gods, oracles, and dreams. The conventional religion is shown in its worst form in the *Bacchae*,⁶ where Tiresias the modernist priest explains away a miracle by philology and the pragmatic Cadmus explains that the belief that Semele gave birth to a god is useful because it brings honour to the royal house. Cadmus is not far from the theory put forward in Critias' *Sisyphus* that when laws failed to prevent crime the gods were invented by some cunning man to frighten men into observing the law.⁷

In another play Euripides places 'conception of the human mind' alongside Air and Necessity of natural law as a possible interpretation of Zeus. Prodicus⁸ thought the gods were allegorizations of the beneficial forces in nature. Other interpreters⁹ find in the gods the heroized benefactors of mankind. Meanwhile the vicissitudes of human life at this time and the failure of human character to control them

¹ Thuc. i. 68; v. 85; vi. 9; cf. Aly, *Formprobleme*, 95.

² Nestle, *N. Jbb.* 1914, xxxiii. 683.

³ Ibid. 657.

⁴ Eur. *El.* 971, 1246; cf. *H.F.* 339.

⁵ *I.T.* 570; cf. *Hel.* 744.

⁶ *Bacch.* 296, 336; cf. 30.

⁷ Critias, 25; cf. *El.* 737.

⁸ Prodicus, 5; cf. *Bacch.* 275.

⁹ Cf. *Hel.* 490, 588; *Bacch.* 467.

furthered the growth of the new divine figure, *Tyche*. Although Chance had a cult and a statue, as might be expected, in Ionia in the sixth century,¹ there was probably no cult as yet in Athens. But *Tyche* is the figure in the background of the later Euripidean melodrama and is more than once invoked by his characters.² 'O Thou, who hast changed thousands of men ere now to misfortune and to happiness again, *Tyche*.'

As in the preceding twenty-five years literature itself is the subject of active speculation. Literary criticism has become a science and evidently a popular science, since Euripides³ criticizes the recognition scene of the *Choephori* in his *Electra*, and Aristophanes fills the major part of the *Frogs* with criticism of Aeschylus and Euripides.⁴ Behind Aristophanes' excellent fooling, which even the groundlings could enjoy, lie methods of criticism which look forward to Plato and Aristotle. Even the smashing of Euripides' prologues with the little oil bottle⁵ enshrines valid criticism of Euripides' syntax and style, while the contrasted pictures of the natural genius of Aeschylus and the careful craftsmanship of Euripides⁶ are fundamental for understanding the two authors. At the same time Antimachus of Colophon both edited and interpreted the works of Homer, and thus founded critical scholarship.

A public so interested in literary criticism rejoiced in the parodies of comedy and the literary reminiscences of higher literature. Parody is in general on a larger scale than in classical comedies;⁷ now whole scenes and even whole plays are parodied; for instance, both Aristophanes and

¹ Rumpf, *Arch. Anz.* 1936, 59.

² *Ion*, 1512; cf. Solmsen, *Hermes*, 1934, 400, with literature.

³ *Eur. El.* 524.

⁴ Cf. *Thesm.* 149 (Agathon); frs. 149 (*Gerytades*), 253-4 (*Danaides*).

⁵ *Frogs*, 1200; cf. Navarre, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 1932, 278.

⁶ *Frogs*, 814 f.; cf. Radermacher's edition *passim*; Pohlenz, *G.G.N.* 1920, 142.

⁷ e.g. *Thesm.* 39, 770, &c.

Strattis wrote a *Phoenissae*. Such plays occurred sporadically before, and became still more common in the fourth century because of the ban on excessive political abuse and the lack of outstanding political figures.

Literary reminiscence sometimes¹ enriches the present by the emotional associations of the past, but more often is designed to recapture the formal charm of earlier literature. Both in Euripides' *Electra* and in his *Orestes*² a prayer is offered to the dead Agamemnon. Both prayers consist of four sections in each of which three speakers take part, Orestes and Electra in both plays, with the old man in the *Electra* and Pylades in the *Orestes*. This elaborate formation is undoubtedly meant to recall the great kommos of the *Choephoroi*, the third speaker taking the part which Aeschylus had assigned to the chorus. Much of the choral technique of Euripides' later plays harks back to the earliest period of tragedy,³ and the hymn to Heracles in the *Hercules*⁴ is clearly modelled on a ritual hymn. But the archaism which can be detected in tragedy is a small thing compared with the archaism of the two epic writers, Choerilus of Samos and Antimachus of Colophon. Antimachus not only used Homeric words and phrases, but his Theban epic followed the *Iliad* in its invocations of the Muses, catalogues of heroes, and funeral games.⁵

The sophisticated public also required novelty. Sometimes the poet merely produces something new to stimulate a jaded palate, sometimes the innovation provides an escape from the hard realities of a cruel and disillusioning world. Innovation for the sake of innovation is natural in a society interested in personal display and eccentricity. 'I

¹ e.g. Soph. *El.* 1150; *Phil.* 1436; cf. Thuc. v. 105; vii. 77. 4, 7.

² *El.* 671; *Or.* 1225; cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 103.

³ Cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 233; the actor as leader of the chorus, *Tro.* 143; *El.* 694; *Bacch.* 55. ⁴ *H.F.* 348 (Kranz, op. cit. 131, 191); cf. *Frogs*, 316.

⁵ Wyss, *Antimachi reliquiae*, lvi.

do not sing the old. My new songs are better. The king, Zeus, is young. Of old Kronos ruled. Away with the old Muse',¹ says Timotheus of Miletus; in his lyric narrative of Salamis the story was a thread on which to hang the four realistic laments of the Persian swimming, the Persians on the shore, the captured Asiatic, and Xerxes. The Persian wars were by now an old subject, but Timotheus in his lyric and Choerilus in his epic discovered an entirely new method of treating them. Antimachus² also sought out old and forgotten forms of legend to incorporate in his poems, and Agathon³ wrote a tragedy in which all the characters were of his own invention. The painter Zeuxis, whose career at Athens started towards the close of the classical period, also preferred unusual subjects.⁴

The artists and poets who seek novelty for its own sake are forerunners of the Hellenistic age,⁵ which like our period had its pictures of a strange and beautiful world where things go right more often than in ordinary life. It is hardly chance that of the nineteen tragedies of which something is known, if we omit the Euripidean *Electra* as doubtful, eleven⁶ have a happy ending, and two, the *Coloneus* and the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, end with a miracle; the disasters of the *Medea* and *Tyrannus* are too harrowing to be popular now. The new elements in tragedy point in the same direction. Romantic love appears in the *Andromeda* and *Helen*. Seven of the Euripidean plays and one of those by Sophocles contained a joyous recognition of long-lost relatives.⁷ Babies are exposed and found again;⁸

¹ Timotheus, 7; cf. *Persae*, 215, 224.

² Cf. Wyss, lviii.

³ *Poetics*, 1451^b21.

⁴ See above, p. 134; cf. Timanthes' Sleeping Cyclops, O. 1742.

⁵ Cf. Pfuhl, § 740.

⁶ Soph. *El.*, *Phil.*; Eur. *Hel.*, *I.T.*, *Ion*, *Or.*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Hypsipyle*, *Archelaus*, *Alcmaeon*.

⁷ Soph. *El.*; Eur. *El.*, *Hel.*, *I.T.*, *Ion*, *Ant.*, *Hyps.*, *Alcm.*

⁸ *Ion*, *Ant.*, *Hyps.*

daughters are sold into slavery and recovered.¹ Strange and wonderful events, Phaethon's driving, the tearing of Dirce, and the passing of Oedipus, are described.² In the *Bacchae* Euripides portrays the effects of a wild nature religion, and other evidence suggests that the Athenians were particularly interested in romantic-mystical cults at this time. The parodos of the *Frogs* is probably founded on a Dionysiac procession.³ One of the best vase-painters, the painter of the Berlin Dinos (Pl. 15b),⁴ draws new and admirable Dionysiac scenes, and a hydria in California,⁵ representing the birth of Dionysus, clearly reflects a great Athenian painting conceived in the romantic manner that characterizes many representations of gods at this time.⁶

THE NEW STYLE

(a) *Realism.*

In the preceding quarter of a century a realist and a mannerist style grew up alongside the classical style. Both are further developed during the next twenty years. The mannerist style, which derives chiefly from the old court style, becomes the rich style; and the realist style follows two directions, a violent realism which goes back to the strong style and a quieter naturalism which has its origin in the Ionian sensuous style.

During the classical period Euripides drew portraits of great and destructive personalities. In the free period his portraits are on a smaller scale and of lesser people. Pentheus is perhaps the most complete of his realist portraits. He is the opposite of Ion and a man of action. As such, he

¹ *Alcm.*

² Cf. *Androm.*, *Bacch.*, *Archelaus*; Critias, *Peirithous*, *Sisyphus*.

³ Cf. Tierney, *P.R.I.A.* 1935.

⁴ Pfuhl, figs. 581-2; for paintings probably of this date, see Pausanias, 1. xx. 3 (Picard, *Rev. de Phil.* 1931, 209).

⁵ *C.V.A. California*, pl. 47 f.

⁶ Cf. Schefold, *Jahrb.* 1937, 63.

probably had affinities with Zethus in the *Antiope*. As a tyrant he has affinities with Lycus in the *Hercules Furens* and Eteocles in the *Phoenissae*, and his tyrannical spirit is confirmed by the messenger's fear of giving him a report which may displease him.¹ His attitude to the new god Dionysus is described by others as 'theomachy', battling with a god,² and his treatment of Tiresias³ suggests that he has no great respect for the established religion. The new religion he regards as immoral in the lowest sense; 'one here, one there stole forth alone to serve the beds of men; in name they are holy Maenads, but they count Aphrodite before Bacchus'.⁴ This interpretation is so often reiterated that it must have been an obsession. On the other side of the account is the picture of Pentheus drawn by Cadmus in his funeral oration⁵ as a good ruler and a dutiful grandson. A narrow puritan and an angry tyrant he certainly is; he is also stupid, incapable of understanding either the worldly wisdom of Cadmus and Tiresias or the subtlety of Dionysus. Pentheus is drawn in greater detail than the modernist Tiresias or the realist Cadmus. The barbarian tyrants, Thoas in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and Theoclymenus in the *Helen*, are caricatures.

Aristophanes has two notable realistic characters in the comedies of this time, Heracles in the *Frogs* and the Councillor in the *Lysistrata*. Heracles⁶ is a cheerful giant. The Councillor in the *Lysistrata*⁷ is an ordinary, fussy, old-fashioned Athenian citizen, who deplores modern luxury and effeminacy, but is quite incapable of dealing with the emergency created for him by the women. He is an ancestor of the fussy and miserly fathers-in-law of the New Comedy. Lysias' cripple⁸ is also a realistic portrait. He is accused of enjoying a state allowance to which he is not

¹ *Bacch.* 670.² *Ibid.* 45, 263.³ *Ibid.* 255, 347.⁴ *Ibid.* 223; cf. 354, 487, 957, 1060.⁵ *Ibid.* 1308.⁶ *Frogs*, 42.⁷ *Lysistr.* 387.⁸ Lysias, xxiv. 2, 9, 12.

entitled. He suggests that the motive of the accuser is envy. He says that if he were made choregus and challenged his accuser to an exchange of property, his accuser would prefer to be choregus ten times over. He wonders why his accuser does not attack him for using two sticks when other people use one. He is a cheerful and witty 'cockney' and possibly a rogue. The speech appears to belong to the end of the fifth century, but looks forward to the more detailed characterization of fourth-century oratory.

The interaction of characters is at this time more interesting than the characters themselves. Both Euripides and Sophocles have elaborated the technique of conversation so that the sequence of emotions is far subtler and more varied than before. In the earlier plays the characters are fixed values and their reactions are known; there is no give and take between Creon and Antigone or between Medea and Jason. Now they respond to one another as ordinary people normally do respond. It is clear from what has been said above of character development¹ how much Neoptolemus moves under the influence of Philoctetes,² and how Heracles' outlook is changed by contact with Theseus. The subtlest emotional sequence in Sophocles is the recognition in the *Electra*.³ The scene begins with Orestes confident and Electra desperately resolved to kill Aegisthus. Orestes is first impatient and then realizes that Electra must be a friend. Electra's strength is completely broken when she is handed the urn. But her lament and the discovery that she is Electra in turn shatters Orestes' resolve and he discloses himself. Both give way to an outburst of joy. Then Electra becomes wildly confident, and Orestes remasters his self-control.

¹ See above, p. 151.

² Philoctetes in his turn, though one of the hardest and stormiest of Sophoclean characters, responds to Neoptolemus; *Phil.* 658, 1350.

³ *El.* 1098.



Erechtheum. Caryatids.

Euripides' characters are at this time milder than those of Sophocles, and therefore the scenes of this type are quieter. In the Euripidean *Electra* Orestes watches his sister unseen and so has control of himself when they meet.¹ She thinks he is a brigand, until he has won her confidence by his news. Orestes nearly breaks down when he says: 'What is more dear to your brother than you?' Then Orestes shows deep emotion again when he hears of the behaviour of Electra's husband. Later he says, 'Would that Orestes were near to hear this!' and she answers 'But, sir, I should not know him if I saw him.' In the later scene, when Clytemnestra is arriving, Orestes wavers, but Electra scornfully asks if the sight of his mother has overcome him with pity. And when he thinks the oracle may have been given by a fiend in disguise, she answers: 'Seated on the holy tripod? I do not think so.'² Here too the characters play on one another's feelings and each moves in answer to the other. Solmsen³ in his admirable treatment of such scenes speaks well of 'the soft and intimate movement of their feelings'. In the earlier scene of the *Electra* and in some of the others the pathos is enhanced by the ignorance of one or both of the characters.⁴ Euripides thus uses tragic irony in a completely different way from Sophocles: the spectator is meant to remember his knowledge and sympathize the more strongly with the characters. Thucydides' debate on Pylos⁵ is not unlike a scene in tragedy with Cleon and Nicias as the two chief actors, and the rest of the assembly as the chorus. But Thucydides' chorus can take a more active part in the proceedings and consists of two elements, the irresponsible who laugh at Cleon's

¹ *El.* 215.

² *Ibid.* 965.

³ *Hermes*, 1934, 397. Other pairs are Ion and Creusa in the *Ion*; Orestes and Iphigenia in the *I.T.*; Menelaus and Agamemnon in the *I.A.*

⁴ Cf. *I.T.* 611, 627; *Ion*, 307, 1277; cf. Solmsen, *op. cit.* 394.

⁵ *Thuc.* iv. 27; cf. vi. 24 (the debate on Sicily).

irresponsibility and the 'moderates' who rather hope to be rid of Cleon. Through the course of the debate we see the gradual shifting of emotion until Cleon is forced into his final position.

Shifting emotion the artist cannot depict, but he can show both the emotional connexion between two figures in an intimate scene, and the different reactions of several characters to a single event. The scenes of this time do not differ essentially from the psychological spectacles of earlier periods; but as in tragedy the emotions are often more intimate and always less restrained. The Reed painter's girl bringing offerings to a tomb,¹ whose grief is watched by a pitying Charon, can be compared with the prologue of Euripides' *Electra*, where Orestes watches Electra carrying her water-jar.² The emotion that binds Heracles to Theseus in the last scene of the *Hercules Furens* is illustrated by the funeral stele of Crito and Timarista in Rhodes.³ On the Pelops crater (Pl. 24)⁴ Pelops drives carefully and perhaps apprehensively, Hippodamia throws up her hands in joyful surprise as the chariot approaches the sea. Beazley describes the intimate emotion represented on a small vase by the Meidias painter:⁵ 'two Erotes bringing tokens to two ladies: passionate love and polite love: one Eros has flown eagerly to the lady, has just alighted and delivered his wreath, which she stoops and takes tenderly, while he gazes into her face; the other lady, seated at ease on a bank, turns round towards the second Eros who is walking up leisurely with a necklace in his hands: she has a necklace already.'

In other pictures the painter is not concerned with the interrelations of characters, but with their reactions to events. Timanthes' picture of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia⁶ belongs to this period. It was famous in the ancient world

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 551.

² *El.* 107.

³ *A.J.A.* 1933, 407.

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 583.

⁵ *C.V.A. Oxford*, pl. xlvii, p. 37.

⁶ *O.* 1734-7.

because the painter showed a rising scale of grief from Calchas through Odysseus and Menelaus, reaching its summit in the veiled figure of Agamemnon. A variety of emotions is displayed by the maenads in the Dionysiac revel by the Dinos painter (cf. Pl. 15*b*),¹ which makes an interesting comparison with the simpler scene painted by the Cleophrades painter about eighty years before. One maenad looks scornfully at an aged satyr who raises his hand in surprise; one, half naked, dances wildly to the wild tambourine of her companion; two, one with a baby on her shoulder, move along in quieter ecstasy; a sixth sits smilingly at Dionysus' side, playing the castanets. In another medium and for a very different scene, the sea battle in the harbour of Syracuse, Thucydides² describes the different emotions of attackers and defenders, and the reactions of the spectators as they saw victory, defeat, or equal contest.

The whole range of human emotion from the ecstasy of the mystic to the delusion of the madman, from the militant hatred of the tortured to the abject despair of the deserted is within the compass of the writer. The quiet ecstasy of the Dinos painter's maenads is not unlike the spiritual exaltation of Iphigenia as she goes to her fate at Aulis.³ 'I forbid a tear to fall. But do you, maidens, sing a paeon over my fate to Zeus' daughter, Artemis. Let there be silence among the Greeks. Bring forth the holy baskets, cast the pure meal on the fire, and you, my father, pass round the altar. For I come to bring salvation and victory to Greece.' Here is something different from the simpler emotion of pure joy which flashes out in the recognition scenes.⁴ It is more akin to the scenes of madness in the *Orestes* and *Bacchae*.⁵ The madness of Orestes is perhaps

¹ Pfuhl, fig. 581; cf. fig. 582. Contrast fig. 379 (Cleophrades ptr.).

² Thuc. vii. 70. 7; cf. vi. 30. 2 (the sailing of the fleet).

³ *I.A.* 1466; cf. *Tro.* 308.

⁴ *I.T.* 827; *Soph. El.* 1220.

⁵ *Or.* 253; *Bacch.* 918, 1169.

the more convincing to modern ears since here Euripides has dispensed with external and visible forces such as Lyssa in the *Hercules Furens* and Dionysus in the *Bacchae*. Orestes is lying exhausted on his couch after the sleep which followed his last bout. Suddenly his face changes and he sees the Furies coming to attack him. He thinks Electra, who tries to hold him still, is a Fury who will throw him to Hades.

‘Give me my horned bow, the gift of Loxias, with which Apollo bade me repel the goddesses if they frightened me with mad fits. A goddess will be shot by human hand, if you go not from my eyes. Don’t you hear? Don’t you see the winged shafts of Apollo’s arrows darting forth? Ah, why do you wait? Fly away through the air, and blame Phoebus’ oracle. Stop. Why do I wander, panting so? Where have my leapings brought me? Far from my couch. After the storm I see a calm again.’

Here briefly and vividly Orestes goes through the whole cycle from sanity to madness and back to sanity.

Grief also is more realistic now. The figures on the white lekythoi of the Reed painter (Pl. 11b)¹ have none of the restraint of earlier funeral scenes. The same difference distinguishes the lament of Teucer in the *Ajax* from Electra’s lament for Orestes.² The earlier speech is more general and more formal; it gains something from its restraint. The later speech is more personal; Electra and only Electra could have these intensely individual feelings. And it is freer; Electra’s emotion has a greater range, as she moves from smooth to broken iambs, from broken iambs to anapaests, and back to smoother iambs at the end. But Sophocles still casts her grief into the formal moulds of antithesis, anaphora, and word play.

The brief lament of Agamemnon in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when he suddenly breaks down as he sends Iphi-

¹ Pfuhl, figs. 551-2; details, Zervos, *L’Art en Grèce*, 280-1.

² *Aj.* 992; *El.* 1126.

genia into the house, is purely realistic.¹ 'Go into the house. Girls should not be seen. But give me your hand and a kiss. You are going away from your father for a long time. O cheeks and breast, golden hair; Helen and Troy are become a heavy weight for you. I will say no more; so swift a rain of tears attacks me as I touch you. Go into the house.' What is true of the laments holds equally for appeals and speeches of abuse. Philoctetes' appeal to Neoptolemus² and Oedipus' curse on Polynices³ have the passionate and personal realism of Electra's lament. And the prose speeches of this time admit both freer abuse of the other side⁴ and more passionate appeal⁵ to the jury.

Hero and heroine of the free period describe passionately the miseries of their lives.⁶ In Sophocles the emotional autobiography is a development of the older explanatory speech.⁷ Where Oedipus had explained to the chorus his new decree, Philoctetes tells how he was abandoned on Lemnos and what sufferings he has to endure. The autobiography is a particular form of the emotional narrative, which prose-writers use to stir the emotions of their audience. In Lysias' speech against Eratosthenes the narrative of Polemarchus' capture and death is a mighty, emotional indictment of the thirty tyrants.⁸ Thucydides' descriptions of the departure of the Athenians from the camp at Syracuse and of the condition of the Athenian prisoners in the Quarries⁹ are masterpieces in this kind.

Emotional narrative in tragedy is sometimes cast into lyrical form, and music and metre add their colour to the whole. Although in the absence of Greek music, conclusions regarding lyrics are doubtful, it is probably safe to

¹ *I.A.* 681.

² *Phil.* 468; cf. *I.A.* 1241.

³ *O.C.* 1348; cf. *Eur. El.* 907.

⁴ *Lysias*, xii. 9; xxxi. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.* xii. 92; *Antiphon*, vi. 2.

⁶ *Soph. El.* 254; *Phil.* 254; *Eur. El.* 305; *Hel.* 255; *Ion*, 961.

⁷ e.g. *O.T.* 216.

⁸ Cf. *Lysias*, xxxi. 20.

⁹ *Thuc.* vii. 75, 87.

say that in the lyric dialogue in which Oedipus is forced to tell the story of his past¹ the emotional effect is enhanced by music and metre. Other lyric narratives,² however, are put into a rich and elaborate style, which makes the emotional effect less individual and personal; they are to be regarded as elaborate arias rather than realistic representations of emotion.

The love of realism which underlies the free expression of emotion shows itself in many directions. In the free period the dramatists admit even more action into their plays than in the classical period. Sometimes the action accompanies passages of great emotion and heightens the emotion of the scene. At the end of the *Phoenissae*³ Oedipus strokes the dead faces of his wife and sons—'one of the greatest pieces of pure "theatre" in the surviving plays'. The *Ion* provides examples of several different kinds of action which recur in other tragedies. In the opening monody⁴ Ion first sends the men slaves to Castalia, then sweeps and waters the floor, and then threatens the birds with his bow and arrows. When the chorus enter, they inspect and discuss the sculpture of the temple. Later in the play the short-sighted and stumbling old man is helped up the slope to the temple by Creusa.⁵ In a third scene of action⁶ Creusa flies to the altar pursued by Ion at the head of an armed band.

An ancient critic⁷ remarks that 'many opportunities of movement are offered to the actor by Ion's rush for his bow and arrows, by his face upturned to the sky as he talks to the swan, and by the rest of the detail contrived to aid the actor'. There is nothing else quite like this in Greek tragedy, but in other scenes also a single character performs

¹ O.C. 515; cf. Eur. *El.* 1206.

² *Ion*, 859; *Phoen.* 301.

³ *Phoen.* 1694; Meredith, *C.R.* 1937, 101; cf. *I.T.* 1068; *H.F.* 520; *Tro.* 462.

⁴ *Ion*, 94 f.

⁵ *Ibid.* 738.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1250.

⁷ Demetrius, *On Style*, 195 (tr. Rhys Roberts).

some definite action on the stage: Electra in the Euripidean play enters with a water-jar on her head, she puts it down, and then like a professional mourner she tears her face and hair.¹

The chorus in the *Ion* is composed of Athenian women, who are visiting Delphi for the first time and talk to each other with great interest about the temple sculptures. While some of the songs at this time are displays of musical technique and have little connexion with the action, at other moments, as when they keep watch for Hermione in the *Orestes* or search for Oedipus in the *Coloneus*, the chorus are more active than they have been since the days of Aeschylus.²

The arrival of the tottering old man in the *Ion* has many parallels. The representation of old age is an easy subject for the realist in art or poetry. Similarly madness and sickness give the dramatist opportunities for representing realistic action—the careful nursing of Orestes, the agony, sleep, and awakening of Philoctetes, and the mad capering of Pentheus.³

Ion's chase of Creusa also has parallels: in the *Trojan Women* Helen is forcibly dragged from her hut, and in the *Philoctetes* Odysseus and Neoptolemus draw on one another.⁴ Contemporary artists delight in violent battles and hunting-scenes.⁵ The chase of Creusa is an 'eclectic' spectacle of the old kind, although it has none of the moral purpose of Aeschylean spectacle. Nearly all the plays of Euripides of which anything is known during this period either begin or end with the appearance of a deity in heaven. In the *Orestes*⁶ the appearance of Apollo is the

¹ *El.* 112 (Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 159); cf. *Or.* 1369; fr. 118 (*Andromeda*).

² *Or.* 140; *O.C.* 118; cf. *Hel.* 327; *Phaethon*, 237, 274, 303.

³ *Or.* 219; *Bacch.* 928; *Phil.* 730, 810.

⁴ *Tro.* 897; *Phil.* 1254.

⁵ Winter, 280-1 (Phigalia), 277, figs. 5-8 (Nike frieze), 261 (Lycian sarcophagus).

⁶ *Or.* 1573; cf. the end of the *Trojan Women*, 1257.

culmination of a scene already spectacular. For Orestes is holding a sword to Hermione's throat, Electra and Pylades are brandishing torches preparatory to firing the palace, and Menelaus is raging below, calling for his troops. In two plays¹ some part of the palace buildings is destroyed before the eyes of the audience, and spectacle of a quieter kind is provided by chariots² and processions,³ by choruses in foreign dress,⁴ and by subsidiary choruses.⁵ Sophocles uses spectacle more sparingly and only to emphasize an important moment in the play, as when the blind and infirm Oedipus,⁶ summoned by thunder and lightning, rises and leads Theseus and his daughters off the stage.

The details of realistic handling can be best discussed under two headings—violence, in which the strong style lives again, and naturalism, which comes ultimately from the Ionian sensuous style. The violent scenes of the Phigalia and Nike temple sculptures consist of figures in violent action and distorted postures. Look for instance at the fallen and falling Amazons of the Nike frieze, and at the Amazon who is being hurled over the head of her horse in the Phigalia frieze.⁷

In literature, prose and poetry, excitement and emotion are expressed in a realistic staccato style. In tragedy the wild lament whether of actor singing alone⁸ or of actor and chorus⁹ is common. The iambic metre is freer than before, and the verse is more often divided between different speakers. The broken rhythms of the free iambic express the emotion of the speaker or emphasize the energy of his thought.¹⁰ Even a literal translation will give some idea of

¹ *H.F.* 904; *Bacch.* 591.

² *El.* 998; *I.A.* 590; see above, p. 49.

³ *Hel.* 1390; *I.T.* 1222.

⁴ *Phoenissae*, *Bacchae*; see above, pp. 17, 49.

⁵ *Alexander*, *Phaethon*, *I.A.*

⁶ *O.C.* 1540.

⁷ Winter, 281, fig. 4; 277, fig. 8.

⁸ *Eur. El.* 112; *I.T.* 220.

⁹ *H.F.* 1042; *Phil.* 1181.

¹⁰ *Phoen.* 549; *Or.* 665.



Meidias painter Ripe of Leucippida

Helen's agitation when she hears the priestess coming and knows that Menelaus is discovered.¹ 'Woe is me! For so is my lot. Menelaus, we are ruined. The prophetess Theonoe is coming out. The sound of creaking bolts comes to me. Fly. But to what purpose fly?' The prose-writers also provide instances of emotional staccato. Lysias uses staccato for his emotional narratives,² and the speech against Eratosthenes ends with an emphatic staccato conclusion: 'I will cease my accusation. You have heard, seen, suffered. You understand. Give your verdict.'³

The vivid imagery of the strong style is found in the free period.⁴ Sophocles in the *Electra*⁵ speaks of the Furies with something like Aeschylean ferocity:

Forth from her secret lair
Comes that great Fury then
With arms a mighty host might bear
And the trampling feet of men.
Relentless, brazen-shod she shall appear.

In the *Hercules Furens* Euripides three times⁶ uses the image of a big ship towing smaller boats to enforce the pathos of the scenes where the children of Heracles cling to Megara and to Heracles and brilliantly once more at the end of the play where Heracles himself is led off by Theseus. All these images are vivid and forcible, and therefore capture the listener. Only the lyric poet Timotheus, who speaks of arrows as 'snakes, long-winged, bronze-faced, string-stretched',⁷ converts the Aeschylean style into a conceited decoration, so that his swiftly changing metaphors are enigmatic instead of illuminating.

¹ *Hel.* 857.

² Lysias, xii. 14; cf. Antiphon, vi. 4, 39; Isocrates, xxi. 2.

³ Lysias, xii. 100.

⁴ e.g. personification, *Phoen.* 397, 531, 782; Critias, 6. 22; Thuc. v. 103.

⁵ Soph. *El.* 489, tr. E. S. Barlow.

⁶ *H.F.* 445, 632, 1424.

⁷ *Persae*, 30; cf. his metaphors *passim*.

The epic poet, Antimachus of Colophon, used the magnificence of the strong style as a manner. Some of his surviving lines, composed of few and weighty words in the magnificent style,¹ do not appear to deal with subjects or moments weighty enough to justify their magnificence. The tragedians, on the other hand,² and Thucydides,³ only allow their manner to rise to these heights when they have some particular purpose to achieve. In art many figures (Pl. 22)⁴ have the heavy solemn drapery which has before been termed magnificent; among them are some of the figures from the Nike balustrade, of one of which (Pl. 21) Carpenter⁵ remarks, 'if it is importunate, it is at least splendidly so'. It contrasts with another figure from the balustrade, the Nike with hand on hip, whose clothing is less elaborate and leads us over to quieter forms of naturalism,⁶ like the folds and curves of the maenads by the Dinos painter (Pl. 15b).⁷

The shaggy figures by the Dinos painter⁸ and the shaggy centaurs of the Phigalia frieze⁹ reflect the realistic portraiture of the time. When Aristotle in the *Poetics*¹⁰ makes a scale of painters, he puts between the idealist Polygnotus and the caricaturist Pauson the realist Dionysius who paints men 'like ourselves'. A sculptor Demetrius of Alopeke, who seems to have been already working in the fifth century, was known as anthropopoios, man maker, with an implied contrast to hero maker or god maker. He made a portrait of the Corinthian general Pellichus which is described by Lucian¹¹ as a figure 'with a prominent

¹ Antimachus, frs. 32, 77.

² e.g. *H.F.* 1295; *Bacch.* 1098; *Soph. El.* 13, 980.

³ *Thuc.* vi. 31. 1; 31. 6; cf. i. 23. 2; ii. 2; vii. 75. 6.

⁴ Winter, 277, figs. 5-8; 280-1; 283, fig. 2; 286, fig. 1.

⁵ *Nike Temple Parapet*, 23.

⁶ Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pl. xx. 1.

⁷ Pfuhl, fig. 582. Contrast the magnificent drapery of the Dionysus.

⁸ *Ibid.*, figs. 578-81.

⁹ Winter, 280-1.

¹⁰ *O.* 1078.

¹¹ *S.J.* 235.

stomach, bald, his cloak falling off him, his beard blown into disarray, his veins clearly marked, the very image of the man'.

There are over forty occasions in the tragedies of this period when the appearance of a character is described, and the descriptions show that make-up and costume produced realistic portraits like those of Demetrius. Polynices in the *Coloneus*¹ remarks on Oedipus' rags, his filth, his uncombed hair, and his beggar's wallet. The characters of tragedy are often described as mourning or otherwise distressed. At the other end of the scale are the descriptions of Clytemnestra with all her luxury,² of Ismene with her Thessalian hat and Sicilian pony,³ and of Dionysus in the *Bacchae*:⁴

Marry, a fair shape for a woman's eye,
Sir stranger! And thou seek'st no more, I ween!
Long curls, withal! That shows thou ne'er hast been
A wrestler!—down both cheeks so softly tossed
And winsome! And a white skin! It hath cost
Thee pains, to please thy damsels with this white
And red of cheeks that never face the light!

The description is not limited to appearance but extends to gesture. Andromache marks her baby's tears as she says farewell,⁵ and Lysistrata⁶ tells the Councillor to try and keep his hands quiet.

Painter and sculptor can recreate the illusion of the ordinary world. On both the Trysa reliefs and the Nereid monument, walls and roofs are done in perspective and the artist gives the impression of an army by skilful overlapping of the soldiers.⁷ Both in the boar hunt and in the lion hunt of the Lycian sarcophagus men and horses are three-

¹ O.C. 1258; cf. *Hel.* 416; *Or.* 34, 166, 219, 385.

² Soph. *El.* 664; E. *El.* 966.

³ O.C. 311; cf. *Phoen.* 159; *Lysistr.* 79; *Frogs.* 46.

⁴ *Bacch.* 453, tr. Murray.

⁵ *Tro.* 749; cf. *Ion.* 241.

⁶ *Lysistr.* 503; cf. *Phoen.* 457; *I.A.* 320.

⁷ Winter, 263, figs. 1, 3, 4; 265, figs. 2, 3, 4, 5.

quartered convincingly.¹ On contemporary vases by the Meidias painter and the Dinos painter (Pl. 23)² the figures are dotted about in space freely, without regard to the base line. Three-quarter faces and the foreshortening of arms and legs present no problem to the Reed painter; but they are part of his normal repertoire (Pl. 11*b*).³ Shading is freely used for clothes and objects by the Dinos painter (Pl. 15*b*);⁴ on the big polychrome lekythoi⁵ it is also used for arms and legs of men. The artist reproduces faithfully the vision of the ordinary man.

Everyday life provides many of the scenes of tragedy and comedy. Such situations are expected in comedy; Aristophanes introduces a poor flower-woman in the *Thesmophoriazusae*,⁶ who is trying to support five children after her husband's death in Cyprus and complains that trade is bad because Euripides has persuaded men that the gods do not exist. Sophocles himself admits such naturalistic scenes, as when Philoctetes questions Neoptolemus of his former comrades in arms;⁷ and many passages in Euripides could find a place in the later comedy of manners—Heracles leading his frightened wife and children into the house, Electra assuming that Orestes has come to kill her and later upbraiding her husband for inviting guests above his station, Hypsipyle talking to the baby.⁸ Schadewaldt⁹ remarks that Ion is 'simply thinking aloud' when he discusses Creusa's story of her friend. Both language and thought are often modern; in Timotheus' *Persae* the Asiatic talks broken Greek,¹⁰ and Euripides' Cassandra discusses the evils of aggression in the year of the Sicilian expedition.¹¹

¹ Winter, 261, figs. 1-2.

² Pfuhl, figs. 593-5, 579, 581.

³ Ibid., figs. 551-2.

⁴ Ibid., fig. 582.

⁵ Ibid., fig. 553; cf. Rumpf, *Jahrb.* 1934, 15.

⁶ *Thesm.* 446; cf. *Frogs*, 503, 549, 738.

⁷ *Phil.* 410; cf. *O.C.* 464.

⁸ *H.F.* 622; *El.* 215, 404; *Hyps.* pap. fr. i. 1.

⁹ *Monolog*, 229, on *Ion*, 429.

¹⁰ *Persae*, 162; cf. The colloquialisms, *I.T.* 803; *Or.* 129.

¹¹ *Tro.* 365.

The characters, situations, and presentation of tragedy often reproduce ordinary life. The stories are less closely knit than before. At the risk of over-simplification, it may yet be said that, whereas the nerve of Aeschylean tragedy is the inexorable law of the gods and the nerve of Sophoclean tragedy the relentless will of the chief character or characters, in Euripides many things happen, as in ordinary life, by chance. It is chance that Heracles arrives just before Megara and Amphitryon are put to death.¹ It is chance that the shepherd in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* hears Pylades' name and not Orestes'.²

(b) *The Rich Style.*

Reproduction of ordinary life, which is common in the art and literature of the free period, is a development of one side of classical art and literature, the immediate sensuous appreciation which makes the classical forms live. At the same time another tendency can be seen, the development of form at the expense of content. The two tendencies can live together in the works of the same artist, but are essentially different.

Beside the strict and direct method of classical composition, a freer method is found in which the parts are more important than the whole and are elaborated for their own sake.³ For the realist, this more haphazard method of composition is a closer imitation of the twists and turns of real life. To the formalist it gives the chance of embellishing this or that part without reference to the whole. Thus the slabs of the Nike balustrade⁴ are complete in themselves and are only held together by a loose symmetry, and in many of the later plays of Euripides the narrative speeches of prologue and exodos fall outside the action of the play,

¹ *H.F.* 514.

² *I.T.* 249.

³ See above, pp. 154, 157. The beginning of the tendency could be seen in the *Medea*.

⁴ Winter, 286, 1-3.

while within the play some of the songs are independent concert pieces.

At the same time the metrical texture of the play becomes richer and therefore smoother. In the classical period the contrast between iambic and lyric was usually left to have its full effect of startling definition. Now intermediate stages are again introduced; the sung part approximates more nearly to the spoken and the spoken to the sung. In all the three late plays of Sophocles the opening song of the chorus is not an ordinary choral ode but a lyric dialogue. In these plays also the ode between acts is sometimes abandoned either for a short lyric dialogue¹ or a single strophe and antistrophe separated by a considerable stretch of iambs.²

The later plays of Euripides show a further development in the use of the lyric dialogue, the monody and the sung dialogue between actors. Euripides also reintroduces the trochaic tetrameter as a metre for dialogue and speech, more exciting than the iambic and less emotional than the lyric; after the *Helen* it does not indicate increased emotion, but merely varies the metrical scheme.³ A metrical analysis of the *Ion* will show the character of the new texture. In the prologue Ion both recites anapaests and sings lyrics; the opening song of the chorus changes into lyric dialogue. After a normal first act and choral ode, the next act starts in trochaics. After the choral ode the iambs of the third act change into lyric dialogue and later Creusa sings a monody. In the fourth act the messenger speech is followed by a lyric lament of the chorus and then by dialogue in trochaics before Ion resumes the iambs. With the recognition the iambs change into a kommos. After further iambs the play ends with trochaics. The texture is more varied and therefore the contrasts are less sharp than in classical tragedy.

¹ *El.* 823; *Phil.* 827. ² *Ibid.* 391; *O.C.* 833. ³ *Krieg, Philol.* 1936, 42.

A similar change of texture can be seen in contemporary art. Both in sculpture and in vase-painting the general appearance of late fifth-century work recalls the ripe archaic period, just as the richness of the ornament and decoration on the Erechtheum reminds us of the architecture of the Siphnian treasury. In the Nike balustrade and the Nereid monument the general effect produced on the spectator is of a rich and varied linear pattern, unbroken by such contrasts as appear on the Parthenon frieze.¹ The Meidias painter (Pl. 23)² covers his figures with patterned clothing which has more in common with ripe archaic than with classical clothing. The ragged outlines of his figures, a trait undoubtedly based on large-scale painting,³ do not mark them off so clearly from the background as the clean outlines of classical drawing. Nor is the contrast between the white flesh and the reserved red figures so sharp or so effective as the contrast between the dark draped and light naked figures of classical white lekythoi.

The style of the Meidias painter is rich and overloaded. It contrasts both with the restraint of the pure classical style and with the realism of the contemporary vases by the Dinos painter. 'The theatrical splendour of the clothes, the tunics, cloaks, and cushions covered with embroidery, the gilded ornaments of the women and the addition of white inside the red-figure drawing show us that the earlier economy has been abandoned, and the pictures are differently weighted from the best and most careful drawings of a very few decades before.'⁴ The Pelops scene (Pl. 24)⁵ is not by the Meidias painter himself but belongs to the same tradition. Pelops wears a bay wreath with white berries in his hair. His cloak is embroidered with stars. His charioteer's robe is embroidered with stars, palmettes,

¹ See above, p. 123.

² Pfuhl, fig. 593 f.

³ Cf. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, 9.

⁴ Ibid., op. cit. 10.

⁵ Pfuhl, fig. 583; cf. *C.V.A. California*, pl. 47 f.

triangles, and a naturalistic wreath. He wears underneath a fine linen chiton. Hippodamia wears a fine linen chiton and a spotted himation. Her head-dress has a diamond pattern, and she has a gilded necklace. The horses have gilt balls on their harness and palmettes hanging from their breastbands. The chariot is decorated with palmettes and scrolls. Some of the sculptures of the Nike balustrade, those attributed by Rhys Carpenter to his master 'A'¹ (Pl. 20), have an over-elaborate and finicky carving of the drapery which can reasonably be called rich, and one of the Nereids² of the Nereid monument has a chiton of finest linen like the chitons of the Meidias painter. The other, who wears the Dorian peplos, has folds which are decorative rather than rich, like the Deianira of the vase-painter Aristophanes,³ and approximates more nearly to the classical style.

Kranz⁴ has compared the later Euripidean lyric with the rich style in art. 'In these Euripidean songs the sublime line of classical eidos has changed into the finicky ornament of the idyll, and the development of visual art, particularly of vase-painting, gives a complete parallel. There too we find the breaking-up of strong classical forms and the introduction of a soft and graceful style, a preference for fluttering Erotes and skipping nymphs.' In literature as in art a distinction can be drawn between the decorative and the rich style. The rich style, although it has already appeared in the classical period,⁵ is the characteristic style of this time. One of the most obvious marks of the decorative style, which can be traced back to Anacreon,⁶ is the regular addition of an adjective to each noun, which is style as long as the adjectives are apt and manner if the

¹ *Nike Temple Parapet*, pl. 1-5 (?Callimachus); cf. Winter, 283, fig. 9 (Erechtheum frieze).

² *Ibid.* 266, figs. 1-2.

³ Pfuhl, fig. 586.

⁴ *Stasimon*, 243.

⁵ See above, p. 135.

⁶ See above, p. 18.



Pelops and Hippodamia.

adjectives are conceited or conventional. In the lyrics of the *Coloneus*¹ the adjectives are purely classical; but when Antimachus of Colophon writes in the decorative style he touches it up by strange words,² and in the same way much of the narrative of Timotheus' *Persae*³ recalls Bacchylides, but has been more highly coloured to suit sophisticated ears. We can tell how the most modern forms of the decorative style appeared to Athenian audiences from the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes,⁴ where, when Agathon and his chorus have sung a 'decorative' lyric dialogue, Mnesilochus comments: 'How sweet and feminine like soft kisses, tongue to tongue.'

The rich style is soft and sensuous and loaded with ornament; it is used for monodies and choral odes, and has its repercussions on prose. The emotion, which in monodies had before poured itself out untrammelled, is now cast into the forms of the rich style. Therefore monodies, as different emotionally as Hecuba's curse on the Greek ships, Ion's morning hymn, and the Phrygian's narrative of Helen's murder, are very similar in style.⁵ The narrative odes, which are common in the later plays of Euripides,⁶ are closely connected with the narrative dithyramb, and one chorus of the *Trojan Women* opens with the traditional dithyrambic formula:⁷

O Muse, be near me now, and make
A strange song for Ilion's sake.

The style can be illustrated by an account of everyday life. In the *Helen*⁸ the chorus explain that they have come to

¹ O.C. 668, 1044; cf. *H.F.* 348; *Thesm.* 312.

² e.g. Antimachus, fr. 20.

³ *Persae*, 8, &c.

⁴ *Thesm.* 130.

⁵ *Tro.* 122; *Ion*, 112; *Or.* 1426; cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog*, 162.

⁶ Kranz, *Stasimon*, 254.

⁷ *Tro.* 511, tr. Murray.

⁸ *Hel.* 179, tr. Sheppard; cf. *El.* 432; *Phoen.* 784; *I.A.* 164; cf. above, p. 138.

see Helen because they heard her cries while they were washing their clothes. They sing:

I had washed my robes of red
 And on fresh green rushes spread
 In the meadows by the cool
 Darkly gleaming waterpool
 When I hear a voice, a cry;
 Such a cry as ill would suit
 The happy music of my lute;
 And I wondered what might be
 The cause of that strange minstrelsy,
 It might have been some Naiad flying,
 With a cry of sudden fear,
 Or in secret cavern lying
 Desolate, the ravished bride
 Of Pan upon the mountain-side.

The style does not differ whether the subject is women abandoning their washing or the sack of Troy or the Greek heroes at Aulis.

The escape chorus of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* shows the rich style in another kind of ode:¹

Bird of the sea rocks, of the bursting spray,
 O halcyon bird,
 That wheelest crying, crying, on thy way;
 Who knoweth grief can read the tale of thee:
 One love long lost, one song for ever heard
 And wings that sweep the sea.
 Sister, I too beside the sea complain,
 A Bird that hath no wing.
 Oh, for a kind Greek market-place again,
 For Artemis that healeth woman's pain;
 Here stand I hungering.

The complete stanza, of which only half has been quoted, contains seventeen lines which form together a single sentence. Murray rightly makes five sentences in English.

¹ *I.T.* 1089; cf. *Hel.* 1451; Kranz, *Stasimon*, 246, contrasts *Ajax*, 596.

Euripides is writing in the tradition of the hymn-writers who spin their sentences out by adding phrase to phrase.¹ The lengthy extension of the sentence gives a smoothness and richness to the diction. A similar effect is achieved by the reduplication of single words which is common in Euripides' choral writing at this time and is ridiculed by Aristophanes.² The decorative, as distinct from the emotional, use of piled adjectives also survives from the hymn style. Philoxenus' Cyclops³ begins his song to Galatea: 'O fair-countenanced, golden-tressed, charming-voiced Galatea, glory of Loves.' These embellishments correspond to the added gold and white of the Meidias painter.

A different means to the same end is found in formal mannerisms, which correspond rather to the elaborate patterning of contemporary sculpture and painting. Play on the sound of words, rhyming endings to lines, formal anaphora at the beginning of clauses, and the accurate balance of corresponding clauses are part of the armoury of these writers. Typical of the combined use of form and play upon words is Agathon's line:⁴ 'Art loves luck and luck art' (in Greek 'techne' (art) and 'tyche' (luck) have three letters in common; that is the play on words). It is interesting to see that Antimachus likes this subtle handling of words as well as the heavy pseudo-magnificence which has been already described.⁵ In Agathon⁶ the desire to rhyme is evidently strong, since of the twelve surviving iambic couplets four rhyme. Anaphora⁷ is employed in the rich and decorated styles to give the sentence a

¹ See above, p. 52.

² *Frogs*, 1338, 1352; e.g. from *Helen* alone, *Hel.* 195, 208, 214, 248, 384, 640, 1118.

³ Philoxenus, 1; cf. Timotheus, 1, 2; Antimachus, 22; *H.F.* 419.

⁴ Agathon, 6; cf. for word play Choerilus, 3; for internal rhyme, Antimachus, 45; Critias, 1, 3.

⁵ See above, p. 186.

⁶ Agathon, 3, 11, 12, 13; cf. Critias, 25, 6-7, 20-1.

⁷ *I.A.* 1327; *I.T.* 227.

mannered pattern, whereas when used by Sophocles¹ the formal restraint of anaphora increases the emotional significance of the passage. A further instance of this formalizing tendency can be seen in the verbal correspondence between strophe and antistrophe in some Euripidean choruses.² The prose-writer has no metre, but from the time of Gorgias seeks the effect of metre by building parallel clauses with an identical number of syllables. Such clauses are common in Lysias and extremely common in Isocrates.³ The principle can be extended to whole sections composed of a series of sentences corresponding to one another in structure.⁴ Thucydides⁵ differs from the orators in allowing himself much greater freedom inside the balancing clauses and greater variety in the parts of his larger structures.

In addition to their preoccupation with the minutiae of form, the writers of the free period are mannered in their choice of words and their use of imagery. Antimachus the epic poet, Philoxenus the lyric poet, and Thucydides the historian were all remarkable in ancient times for their strange and precious vocabulary.⁶ Their expression also is often mannered. Choerilus⁷ speaks of a broken cup as 'a shipwreck of banqueters, such as is often cast by the wind of Dionysus against the shores of *hybris*'. An oar is called by Euripides 'the mother of rowing'⁸ and by Timotheus⁹ 'the foot of the ship'. Timotheus' *Persae* is full of such imagery, which is not meant to illuminate the subject but to serve as strange and exotic ornament.

The stories told in the rich style have something of the atmosphere of ballet. Iphigenia's voyage is conducted by

¹ See above, p. 161.

² *Hel.* 195-214, 1302-20; *Phoen.* 203-15.

³ e.g. Lysias, xxxi. 4; Isocrates, xxi. 2, 5, 7.

⁴ e.g. Antiphon, vi. 7, 17; Isocrates, xviii. 24; Xen. *Ath. Pol.* ii. 11.

⁵ e.g. Thuc. i. 70. 2; iii. 37. 3.

⁶ Antimachus, fr. 20, 48, 57; Philoxenus *ap.* Ath. 643d; Thuc. *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* 52.

⁷ Choerilus, 9; cf. 11, 12.

⁸ *Hel.* 1452; cf. *Tro.* 128.

⁹ *Persae*, 102.

Pan and Apollo.¹ At a festival in the *Ion* the heavens, the moon, and the Nereids dance.² The *Phoenissae* and *Orestes* are made more exotic by the introduction of Orientals.³ These exotic figures appear in contemporary art, for instance Paris in the Judgement by the Meidias painter,⁴ who fills the backgrounds of his compositions with gods, goddesses, and nymphs, adding little to the story but enriching the decor (Pl. 23).⁵ The Nike balustrade has not escaped this influence, and the movement of one of the Nikai restraining a bull is essentially a dance movement.⁶

CONCLUSION

The last twenty years of the fifth century is a period of disintegration and disillusion, in which mannerism and realism live side by side. Both are used to express the tendencies of the time, the desire for escape and novelty on the one hand, and on the other the desire to portray emotion and to represent ordinary life. The mannerism of the rich style is a further development of the formal style of the classical period. The lyrics of the later plays of Euripides are often further removed from the action than the lyrics of his earlier period; they are display-pieces, soft, rich, and exotic. Timotheus and Antimachus use the flashing metaphors and heavy magnificence of the strong style as an affected decoration. At the same time the Meidias painter pursues further the course on which the Eretria painter had entered. His white effeminates with gold ornaments and exotic clothing illustrate perfectly the world of the Euripidean display-pieces. To allow of the independent development of this section or that, the firm structure of classical composition is often relaxed; the Nike

¹ *I.T.* 1123.

² *Ion*, 1074; cf. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 242.

³ *Ibid.* 110 (cf. von Lorentz, *Röm. Mitt.* lii. 212).

⁴ Pfuhl, fig. 595.

⁵ *Ibid.*, figs. 593-4.

⁶ Rhys Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pl. 30

balustrade lacks the unity of the Parthenon frieze, and the four monodies of Timotheus' *Persae* hang on the thinnest thread of narrative.

The freer composition is well adapted to the strange vicissitudes of the later Euripidean drama. In real life many events seem to happen by chance, and the later plays of Euripides in many of the iambic scenes show ordinary people doing ordinary things. Their appearance and their action are realistic; they are the literary counterparts of the realistic portraits which we know from descriptions and of the realistic figures on the vases of the Reed painter and the Dinos painter. Their emotions are portrayed with a subtle insight which can be seen also in many contemporary works of art and in the psychological analyses of Thucydides. Art and literature have advanced further in realism than ever before.

Between the mannerism and the realism, which both look forward to the Hellenistic age, the classical style lives on as an expression of the classical way of life, which the ageing Socrates hands on to the youthful Plato. The *Coloneus* of Sophocles has the ideal characters and clear structure of the earlier plays; its lyrics have the sunny realism and linear economy which characterize works of the classical period. The Hegeso stele is in the same tradition as the Parthenon frieze. These classical qualities are not only found in classical writers like Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Lysias. Thucydides' description of the public funeral of the Athenian dead and the opening chorus of Euripides' *Phaethon* are purely classical in feeling. And the Reed painter, the most emotional of the painters of white lekythoi, has a wonderfully subtle line which forecasts the good draughtsmanship of the Sicyonian painters¹ in the fourth century.

¹ Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, 8.

V. GENERAL CONCLUSION

GREEK art and literature in the fifth century spring from two very different sources: a desire to create a world so real that the spectator must accept it, and a delight in pattern and rhythm. Both are already present in the earliest Greek art and literature that survive; Homer is a realist in his vivid similes of everyday life, but at the same time uses the formulae of a traditional epic language, while the contemporary geometric potters both ornament their vases with highly schematized scenes and patterns, and make the knobs and handles of the same vases come to life as birds or horses. The perfect union of the two tendencies in Homer makes him a truly classical poet. The continuity of realism and formalism in the fifth century is easily perceived if the boundaries of periods are forgotten and the three lines, realist, formal, and classical, are traced through from 530 to 400 B.C. We shall find both continuation and development, and sometimes the adaptation of old forms for entirely new purposes.

The words 'realistic representation' cover caricature and detailed description, violent action and expression, and the shock tactics (*ekplexis*) of spectacle and imagery which impress scene or phrase indelibly on the mind. At the very beginning of the ripe archaic period Hipponax was producing caricature, description of everyday life, and realistic portrayal of the gods; all three can also be found in contemporary art. From the satire of Hipponax a direct line leads to Anacreon's Artemon, Timocreon's Themistocles, and so to the figures of the Old Comedy, Cratinus' Pericles and the Socrates of the *Clouds*; the sculptor Bupalus, who caricatured Hipponax, has his fifth-century successor in the painter Pauson. Similarly, the 'footpad Hermes' of

Hipponax is the ancestor of the greedy Heracles who appears in Epicharmus, in Ion, in the *Alcestis*, and lastly in the *Frogs*; and the artistic line of the Ionian Judgement of Paris is continued by the Telephus painter.

Realistic representation of everyday life is more interesting because there development as well as continuation can be traced. In the world of comedy Hipponax' 'Woman drinking out of a pail' has successors in the parasite of Epicharmus, the thirsty visitor of Pherecrates' *Corianno*, and in the flower-woman of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and thus prepares the way for the New Comedy. Realistic scenes of ordinary life can be followed in art from the ripe archaic period onwards in the drunken men of the Panaitios painter, the pirates of the Beldam painter, and the dancers of the Boston phiale, while numerous small vases carry the tradition on to the end of the century (cf. Pl. 18a).

Meanwhile realism has invaded tragedy and serious art. At first only minor characters—the Egyptian herald in the *Suppliants*, the nurse in the *Ghoephori*, the watchman in the *Antigone*, and their artistic counterparts, the worried seer of Olympia and the Pistoxenus painter's Nurse (Pl. 18b)—are realistically portrayed. But from the time of the *Medea* at least the heroes and heroines of tragedy move downwards towards the everyday world. Euripides' kings were dressed as beggars; their movements, gestures, speech, and thought belong to fifth-century Athens; Peleus in the *Andromache* arrives puffing and panting, and delivers himself of the common soldier's view of staff-officers. Feelings are expressed without restraint, and the verse of tragedy admits more and more of the freedom of ordinary speech. In their later plays Sophocles and Euripides depict a subtle and intimate sequence of emotions as the characters play on one another's susceptibilities.

Thus in literature both the extension and the depth of realism are increased: the major characters of tragedy are

realistically portrayed, and the realism is deepened to include the details of appearance, movement, and emotional reaction. In art a parallel development can be traced in the series of white lekythoi (Pls. 11a, 14a, 11b) from the earlier to the later works of the Achilles painter and Thanatos painter, and finally to the very emotional scenes by the Reed painter. Literary sources tell us of Zeuxis' Menelaus 'bathed in tears' as he poured a libation at Agamemnon's tomb and Demetrius' Pellichus which was 'the very image of the man'. Illusionistic painting was made possible by the increasing use of perspective and shading.

Realism often takes the form of violence. The *Suppliants* ends with wild and violent dances; later, the *Thamyras*, one of the earliest plays of Sophocles, also has violent dances. In classical tragedy violent scenes like the torture of the Theban herdsman in the *Tyrannus* are admitted, and become increasingly common in the plays written in the last twenty years of the fifth century. In painting and sculpture a succession of violent scenes can be traced from the Cleophrades painter's 'Sack of Troy' (Pl. 4) to the battle scenes of Phigalia. Violence extends to the details, to distortion of figure and angularity of gesture in art, and to staccato expression, which is used to emphasize both the philosophy of Pindar and Ion and the emotion of Sophocles' Oedipus and Euripides' Helen.

The artists and poets of the strong style convince their audiences by the realism of imagery and spectacle. The tradition of vivid imagery, particularly metaphor, can be traced from the earliest Pindar and Aeschylus through their later works to Sophocles and Euripides. Pericles' eloquence was famous for its images, which 'left their sting in his hearers'. Only in Timotheus at the end of the century does the swift succession of metaphors become a sophisticated conceit. Spectacle in the *Suppliants* is decorative, but the terrifying appearance of the Furies in the *Eumenides*,

like the shooting of the Niobids on a contemporary vase (Pl. 9), is designed to shock the audience by its realism; the final tableau of Euripides' *Orestes* is a later descendant. The psychological or character spectacle is a further development. Not only the horror of the deed, but also the emotion of the actors, and particularly of the chief character, is emphasized, as in the purple carpet scene in the *Agamemnon*, the messenger scene of Sophocles' *Electra*, the Niobid painter's Argonaut picture (Pl. 10), and Timanthes' Sacrifice of Iphigenia.

Delight in decorative form of every kind is as potent a source of inspiration as the desire to create a real world. Decoration may be applied in three ways: true decoration suits its subject and appears to grow naturally; exaggerated or conventional decoration becomes rich or mannered; thirdly, the complications of decorative form may give the subject-matter a hieratic weight and impressiveness. Drama and the plastic arts both admit decorative arrangement of figures and decorative drapery. The chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, with their dark faces and strange dress, made a decorative spectacle, and spectacle of the same kind can be quoted both from early classical tragedy and from tragedy of the free period, e.g. the state arrival of Clytemnestra in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Foreign dress, which is common on vases and for tragic choruses at the beginning of the fifth century, becomes common again at the end. The patterned cloaks of the young men in the Andocides painter's Concert start a fashion, which survives in the works of the Pan painter (Pl. 12a) and reappears in a rather different form on the classical vases of the Eretria painter and ends in the richness of the Meidias painter (Pls. 14b, 23). The echoing folds of Schrader's kore are the ancestors of the Pan painter's folds and more remotely of the rich drapery of the Parthenon Fates and of the Victories on the Nike balustrade.

The decorative style may become monotonous when

figure is added to figure as on the friezes of the Harpy tomb or of the much later Trysa reliefs. Or it may become a manner when the figures are impossibly tall and elegant like those of Duris and the Codrus painter, or move with the delicacy of formal ballet as on the vases of the Pan painter and the Eretria painter. On the other hand, the Cleophrades painter makes figures and folds heavy and solid, and thus founds the magnificent style which continues through the century till the time of the 'importunate' Victory (Pl. 21) of the balustrade.

Decorative pattern in literature takes the form of recurrent adjectives, echoing rhythms, and formal devices, such as anaphora and triad grouping. All can be traced from the beginning of the period to its end. In the songs of Anacreon and in the songs of Sophocles, from the Salamis chorus of the *Ajax* to the Colonus chorus of the *Coloneus*, adjectives and rhythm are decorative in the best sense. In some of Euripides' songs the decoration is smooth and rich, and has been aptly compared to the style of the Meidias painter; and the sentences often consist of an endless string of phrases, a form which goes back to sixth-century prose and hymns. The conventional adjectives of Ibycus and Bacchylides and of some tragic choruses and the formal and conceited expression of the earliest Sophocles and later of Gorgias and Agathon can truly be called mannered. But Pindar and Aeschylus use the recurrent and piled adjectives of the decorative style to build their own magnificent and 'eclectic' style. The heavy lines of few long words which are characteristic of Aeschylus appear more sparingly in the later tragedians and emphasize particular passages; Antimachus employs them to give his verse an archaic flavour.

To be decorative, the parts of a composition must be clear and precise, and the whole may have a definite shape. Transitions are marked and boundaries emphasized. The Homeric transition is found in every writer, and the over-

lapping groups which link scene to scene can be traced from Euphronius to the Parthenon frieze. The boundaries of sections are marked in literature by the ring form and in art by pillar figures at the ends which correspond in general shape, if not also in detail (Pls. 7*a*, 14*b*, 17, 23).

Large compositions are held together by symmetry. Symmetrical compositions are made by the artists of each generation, from the designer of the Siphnian treasury to the Meidias painter; the correspondence may be more or less exact, but the principle is the same. In Pindar's earliest ode the subjects are arranged symmetrically about the central myth, and in the *Bacchae* at the end of the history of classical tragedy Euripides balances the scenes about the central persuasion of Pentheus. This form, too, can be used, not as decoration but as a means of impressing the audience, as it is by Aeschylus in the Io scene of the *Prometheus Vinctus*. Greek poets and artists love precision of pattern and form, and their love shows itself alike in the colours of a staged or painted spectacle, in the symmetry of a great composition, and in the rhythm and pattern of the details.

Realism and formalism are in perfect harmony in the classical style. The desire to portray the external world is kept within bounds by the desire to create perfect form, and the temptation to develop form into manner is checked by a vivid sense of reality. Ugliness and excessive realism are excluded because classical art is at bottom idealistic. The men and women of the Achilles painter (Pl. 14*a*) are classical, the artistic counterparts of Antigone and Tecmessa; their descendants are the Victory (Pl. 19) tying her sandal and the Neoptolemus of the *Philoctetes*, their ancestors the blond boy and the Euthydikos kore (Pl. 5). The atmosphere of a natural scene is perfectly caught in a succession of works from the beginning to the end of the fifth century, such as Simonides' Danae and the Berlin painter's Apollo, then Pindar's moonlight festival and the

Sotades painter's apple-picker, later Euripides' Neoptolemus in his gleaming armour and the Parthenon frieze, and lastly the Pelops vase (Pl. 24) and the prologue to the *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

But there is always a firm linear structure. It may be concealed so that only a smooth and flowing exterior appears, as in Xenophanes' Banquet and the later Sophoclean speeches, or it may be more obvious like the forward movement of the *Tyrannus* and the Parthenon frieze. The Berlin painter's Citharoedus, the Sotades painter's apple-picker, and the Victory (Pl. 19) tying her sandal have in common a wonderful swing and rhythm which is analogous to the swing of iambic poetry, particularly as handled by Sophocles. Sophocles shapes his lines by the formal devices of anaphora and antithesis, and the restraint of pattern sublimates the emotion of, for instance, Tecmessa's lament. Lysias' technique is the same in the prose narrative of his brother's death and burial. The two elements of sunny realism and linear economy together constitute the classical style.

It would be true to say that the three styles, realist, formal, and classical, exist through the whole period from 530 to 400 B.C.; but this statement gives only one side of the picture. Realism develops both in extent and in depth; Medea could not have appeared in the early days of Aeschylus, and no one would date the Nereid monument in the sixth century. Spectacle, decorative imagery, decorative drapery, and symmetrical composition, all of which belong to the formal style, serve an entirely different purpose in the hands of the poets and artists of the strong style, and then their new forms become a manner in the free period. Mannerism is far more common before 470 and after 430 than in the intervening period.

Therefore, although the three main styles can be traced through the whole period, it is justifiable to speak of a

dominant style in each generation. The dominant style is created by the great artistic spirits to serve the new needs. The sensuous style of the ripe archaic period, while containing the seeds of the later classical style, is admirably suited to express the hedonistic philosophy of the Ionians who followed in the steps of Mimnermus. Ibycus and the Ionian sculptors of the last quarter of the sixth century express this hedonism clearly (Pl. 1a); Simonides and the Berlin painter are more restrained. The sophisticated style, the most formal, precise, and decorated ever produced in ancient Greece, presupposes a learned and sophisticated public, the public for whom Hecataeus wrote his geography and at whose love of information Heraclitus railed. It flourished particularly at the court of the Pisis-tratids; Anacreon played an important part in its creation, while for its sculpture and painting the authors must be sought in the group of artists who made the korai on the Acropolis and the earliest red-figured vases (Pls. 1b, 3a, 7a).

The Ionian style survives after 480 B.C. in the works of the Pan painter (Pl. 12a), of Bacchylides, and of Phrynicus. But before 480 B.C.—indeed, before the end of the sixth century—the revolt against Ionian hedonism has begun and the *carpe diem* philosophy is replaced by the theory of *hybris* and *sophrosyne*. This gospel, and the high and almost mystical conception of Zeus which goes with it, is preached with every accessory of solemn magnificence, gorgeous language, and elaborate spectacle. Pindar and Aeschylus created the strong style in poetry; Athenian sculpture of the early fifth century shows so much Peloponnesian character that Ageladas of Argos must have been a leading influence; Cimon of Cleonae was probably the most noteworthy painter in the early stages of the strong style, and then Micon and Polygnotus—the two stages are represented for us by the Cleophrades painter and then the Niobid and Penthesilea painter (Pls. 4, 7b, 9).

By the middle of the century the severity of the Dorian discipline has been relaxed, and the interest shifts from the gospel of *hybris* to a study of the great personalities who are likely to be victims of *hybris*. Personality was already interesting to the Athenian circle in which Simonides found the ideas for his poem to Scopas, and Euphronius had conceived the battle between Heracles and Antaeus as a struggle of contrasted characters. Now the increasing interest in character-drawing demands a new and suppler style which admits sunny realism again. Sophocles and Phidias are the founders of the classical style. It is not clear who was its author in painting, but for us the Achilles painter, whose art, according to Beazley, is ultimately derived from the Berlin painter, is the perfect classical artist; his figures illustrate the plays of Sophocles and his scenes are instinct with classical *sophrosyne* (Pl. 14a).

But under the influence of the sophists the Athenians, preoccupied with intellectual questions of all kinds, with enjoyment of luxury, and with the quest for novelty, require and obtain a new sophisticated and a new sensuous style. The new realism in literature is the creation of Euripides; the Ionian Parrhasius, perhaps more than any one, is responsible for the free and realistic expression of emotion in painting. Both the painter Zeuxis and the Ionian poet Timotheus prided themselves on their novelty. The Ionian Antimachus wrote mannered epic and Callimachus was a mannered sculptor (Pl. 20). Something like a new court style is dominant again in Athens, but the classical view of life survives in Socrates, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, and the young Plato is growing up to lead a new revolt.

INDEX

- Aeschylus: viii, ix, 8, 14, 17, 20 f., 32 f., 34 f., 42 ff., 50 f., 53, 56 ff., 61 f., 66, 69, 74, 76, 87 f., 91, 100, 102, 107 f., 117, 119, 144 f., 183, 185, 201 f., 203 ff., 206.
- *Agamemnon*: 14, 48, 57 f., 66, 72, 105 ff., 145, 202.
- 36: 62. 40: 68. 72: 62. 76: 103. 112: 64. 147: 69. 160: 54. 176: 72. 177: 72. 184: 80. 221: 80. 238: 72. 355: 68. 437: 87. 555: 62. 617: 72. 650: 50. 717: 64. 764: 65. 782: 49. 896: 52. 905: 80. 958: 66. 1019: 72. 1030: 65. 1073: 59. 1280: 72. 1535: 72. 1646: 72. 1650: 63.
- *Cboepbori*: 49, 90, 100, 145, 171, 172, 200.
- 22: 62. 124: 87. 247: 64. 313: 72. 400: 72. 406: 88. 431: 88. 436: 88. 453: 88. 602: 64. 749: 52. 750: 61. 875: 59. 987 (995): 72. 1048: 64. 1059: 72.
- *Eumenides*: 59, 72, 105, 201.
- 34: 57. 37: 62. 78: 66. 85: 70. 91: 66. 117: 62. 127: 64. 196: 66. 249: 66. 334: 72. 492: 89. 521: 56. 526: 46. 550: 72. 686: 55. 754: 87.
- *Persae*: 14, 48 f., 61, 71, 82.
- 6: 72. 16: 52. 97: 65. 115: 65. 120: 72. 198: 72. 221: 72. 290: 68. 345: 72. 353: 50. 355: 89. 361: 89. 523: 72. 621: 72. 628: 58. 744: 77. 753: 77. 818: 53. 821: 65. 871: 72. 879: 72.
- *Prometheus Vinculus*: ix, 14, 47 ff., 62, 66, 82, 83, 90, 204.
- 39: 52. 320: 55. 347: 64. 360: 56, 97. 399: 89. 415: 72. 437: 87. 477: 89. 561: 59. 640: 68. 700: 89.
- *Septem*: 59, 77, 82, 90, 110.
- 59: 49. 79: 59. 181: 82. 203: 67. 369: 68. 375: 64. 650: 77. 677: 67, 82. 686: 56. 749: 72. 750: 56. 781: 56. 794: 55.
- Aeschylus, *Supplices*: ix, 14, 21, 26, 67, 76, 80, 200 ff.
- 6: 38. 58: 28. 86: 28. 91: 33. 112: 36. 134: 28. 154: 17. 176: 35. 180: 20. 205: 21. 234: 17. 279: 17. 328: 34. 348: 21, 42, 67. 351: 35. 376: 24. 407: 24. 408: 35. 443: 38. 504: 24. 582: 23. 625: 26. 710: 24. 715: 20. 719: 6. 732: 21. 784: 38. 795: 35. 825: 36. 836: 6. 1001: 9. 1018: 42.
- Fragments, 99: 55.
- Agatharchus: 48, 74, 144.
- Agathon: 147, 160, 173, 193, 203.
- Fragments, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13: 195.
- Ageladas: 2, 34, 206.
- Aglaophon: 135.
- Alcarnenes: 103.
- Alcibiades: 135, 148, 167, 168, 169.
- Aly, W.: 103, 121, 137, 155, 170.
- Anacreon: 2, 4, 6, 8, 18, 30, 43, 60, 162, 192, 203, 206.
- Fragments, 2: 11, 29. 5: 19, 22. 44: 4. 54: 5, 21, 26.
- Anaphora: 21, 88, 117, 161, 180, 195, 203, 205.
- Anaxagoras: 47, 74, 94.
- Fragments, 4: 88. 12: 88.
- Antimachus: 171 ff., 186, 195, 207.
- Fragments, 20: 193, 196. 22: 195. 32: 186. 45: 195. 48: 196. 57: 196. 77: 186.
- Antiphon: ix, 138, 151, 167.
- i, 15: 124. 19: 138. 20: 103, 138. 22: 137.
- v, 121. 1: 137. 7: 103, 124. 8: 137. 11: 137. 18: 124. 36: 139. 45: 117. 57: 139. 62: 117, 139. 73: 139. 76: 109.
- vi, 1: 151. 2: 181. 4: 185. 7: 196. 11: 151. 17: 196. 39: 185. 45: 158.
- Fragments, 44A (Diels-Kranz): 129. 44B: 129.
- Apollodorus: 106, 144.
- Apragmosyne*: 148, 149.

- Archelaus (of Macedon): 147.
 Archelaus (philosopher): 47.
 Archilochus: 5, 49.
 Aristophanes: 8, 58, 61, 93, 118, 141, 149, 151, 154, 155, 159, 171, 198, 207.
 — *Acharnians*: 99, 109, 114, 118, 131, 134, 146.
 175: 107. 247: 96. 381: 139. 410: 132. 418: 141. 443: 132. 595: 141. 883: 133. 964: 101. 979: 104. 1095: 143.
 — *Birds*: 159.
 44: 149. 128: 149. 1321: 149. 1433: 149. 1494: 155. 1539: 149.
 — *Clouds*: 101, 106, 111, 199.
 1: 112. 96: 132. 99: 132. 102: 101. 145: 128. 171: 132. 202: 132. 230: 128. 367: 128. 547: 134. 661: 132. 878: 142. 889: 132. 986: 99. 991: 99. 994: 99. 995: 104. 1005: 99. 1025: 99. 1053: 135. 1078: 129. 1080: 127. 1421: 129. 1454: 112.
 — *Farmers*: 99.
 — *Frogs*: 49, 153, 171, 174, 175, 200.
 42: 175. 46: 187. 316: 172. 503: 188. 549: 188. 727: 149. 738: 188. 755: 155. 814: 171. 911: 58. 1200: 171. 1299: 8. 1338: 195. 1352: 195.
 — *Knights*, 514: 132. 537: 133. 551: 137. 1322: 133. 1324: 99. 1331: 99. 1375: 135. 1382: 99.
 — *Lysistrata*: 159, 175.
 79: 187. 387: 175. 503: 187. 568: 164.
 — *Peace*: 99, 106.
 1131: 116.
 — *Thesmophoriazusae*: 200.
 39: 171. 130: 193. 149: 171. 164: 8. 312: 193. 446: 188. 770: 171.
 — *Wasps*: 146.
 230: 143. 248: 142. 291: 142. 891: 134. 975: 121. 994: 143. 1044: 134. 1069: 135. 1524: 36.
 — *Fragments*, 149: 171. 198: 132. 216: 135. 218: 101. 221: 135. 253: 171. 254: 171.
 Aristotle: 46, 76.
 Aristotle, *Poetics*: 60, 76, 108, 160, 173, 186.
 — *Rhetoric*: 104, 138.
 Ashmole, B.: 3, 51.
Ate: 53 f., 65, 111.
 Athenis: 5.
 Bacchylides: viii, ix, 10, 22, 45, 48, 50, 51, 65, 87, 91, 193, 203, 206.
 — i, 71. 160: 69.
 — ii, 89.
 — iii, 63, 71. 23: 52. 85: 69.
 — v, 67, 71. 16: 50. 98: 50.
 — vi, 89.
 — xi, 55, 79: 24. 95: 29. 104: 29.
 — xiii, 50: 20. 83: 10. 100: 29. 124: 23.
 — xv, 59: 56.
 — xvii, 50.
 — xviii, 46: 85.
 — fr. 208: 11, 12.
 Ballet: 51, 136, 197, 203.
 Barlow, E. S.: 164, 185.
 Beazley, J. D.: v, ix, 17, 40, 48, 51, 60, 76, 79, 113, 178, 207.
 Bielefeld, E.: 140.
 Bowra, C. M.: v, 15, 16, 19, 32, 35, 47, 60.
 Breuning, P.: xix.
 Bupalus: 5, 199.
 Buschor, E.: 76.
 Calamis: 162.
 Callimachus: 162, 207.
 Callon: 2.
 Caricature: 5, 60, 100, 132, 143, 186, 199.
 Carpenter, R.: 160, 162, 186.
 Character-drawing: 41, 43, 75 ff., 92, 100, 107, 108 ff., 129, 150 ff., 174, 207.
 Choerilus: 172, 173.
 — *Fragments*, 3: 195. 9, 11, 12: 196.
 Cimon: 46, 75, 76, 167.
 Cimon of Cleonae: 34, 73, 206.
 Cinaethus: 2.
 Cleon: 139, 168, 177.
 Cochrane, C. N.: 169.
 Comedy: vi, ix, 5, 6, 60, 101, 111, 131 f., 142 f., 175, 188, 199.

- Composition: vii, 11, 23, 25, 40, 51, 71, 89, 106, 118, 120 f., 143, 154 f., 157, 189, 197, 203.
- Corax: 45.
- Crates: 133.
- 14: 134.
- Cratinus: 49, 60, 132, 133.
- 1: 47. 10: 49. 42: 135. 71: 101. 98, 100: 135. 108: 101. 143: 133. 207: 132. 231, 239: 100. 240: 101.
- Cresilas: 108.
- Critias: ix, 148, 167, 174.
- Fragments, 1: 195. 6: 185. 25: 170, 195.
- Critius: 40.
- Curtius, L.: 25, 37, 54, 86, 94.
- Damon: 132.
- Decoration: 16, 30, 34, 42, 49 f., 52, 67 f., 87, 91, 136 f., 185, 192 f., 195, 201 f., 205 f.
- Definition: 12, 22, 24, 30, 43, 52, 72, 89, 91, 100, 120, 122, 155, 160, 190, 203.
- Deffner, A.: 169.
- Deichgräber, K.: 88.
- Demetrius, *de Elocutione*: 182.
- Demetrius, of Alopeke: 186, 201.
- Democritus: 74.
- Fragments, 3, 191: 99.
- Diehl, E.: ix.
- Diels, H.: ix.
- Diepolder, H.: 67, 86.
- Diogenes, of Apollonia: 128.
- Distortion: 37, 39, 40, 43, 69, 71.
- Dornseiff, F.: 22, 38, 54, 65, 85.
- Dynamis*: 167.
- Eastern elements: 14, 17, 48, 184, 197, 202.
- Ekplexis*: vii, 57, 58, 62, 64, 88, 92, 100, 103, 119, 183, 199, 203.
- Empedocles: 50.
- Fragments, 2, 8, 17: 88. 23, 84, 100: 50. 124: 88. 128: 52.
- Epicharmus: ix, 6, 200.
- Fragments, 21: 15. 34: 6. 170: 14.
- Epithets: 18, 22, 49 f., 69, 87, 138, 192, 203.
- Eumarus: 34, 73.
- Eupolis: 101, 104, 132, 133.
- Euripides: ix, 61, 72, 104, 107 f., 129 f., 137, 139, 141 f., 146 ff., 150 ff., 159, 160, 163, 166, 170, 172, 174, 176, 183, 188 ff., 192, 197 f., 200 f., 203, 207.
- *Alcestis*: 133, 200.
- 39: 141. 152: 112. 184: 103. 777: 123. 797: 103.
- *Alcmaeon in Corinth*: 173, 174.
- *Alexander*: 184.
- *Andromache*: 106 f., 119, 131, 151, 154, 159, 200, 205.
- 147: 141. 166: 136. 274: 137.
- 548: 142, 143. 695: 141. 804: 137. 866: 98. 943: 141. 1076: 143. 1145: 115. 1161: 127.
- *Andromeda*: 173, 174.
- *Antiope*: 149, 153, 173.
- *Archelaus*: 173, 174.
- *Bacchae*: 152 ff., 159, 174, 180, 184, 204.
- 30: 170. 45: 175. 55: 172. 223: 175. 255: 175. 263: 175. 275: 170. 296: 170. 336: 170. 347: 175. 354: 175. 389: 149. 431: 151. 453: 187. 467: 170. 487: 175. 591: 184. 670: 175. 677: 164. 866: 164. 882: 148. 902: 149. 918: 179. 928: 183. 955: 161. 957: 175. 1002: 149. 1060: 175. 1066: 164. 1084: 163. 1098: 186. 1169: 179. 1308: 175. 1323: 162.
- *Cyclops*, 320: 128.
- *Electra*: 154, 173.
- 45: 151. 107: 178. 112: 183 f. 215: 177, 188. 261: 151. 305: 181. 363: 151. 380: 151. 404: 188. 432: 193. 524: 171. 671: 172. 694: 172. 737: 170. 907: 181. 965: 177. 966: 187. 971: 170. 998: 184. 1206: 182. 1246: 170.
- *Erechtheus*: 99.
- *Hecuba*: 107, 119, 151.
- 230: 136. 342: 117, 134. 438: 142, 143. 444: 138. 491: 128. 592: 129. 622: 98. 647: 108. 670: 142. 736: 143. 799: 128. 800: 141. 816: 132. 915: 116. 943: 108. 1015: 136. 1250: 124.

- Euripides, *Helen*: 154, 173, 175, 190, 201.
 179: 193. 195: 195, 196. 208:
 195. 214: 195. 248: 195. 255:
 181. 262: 164. 327: 183. 384:
 195. 416: 187. 490: 170. 588:
 170. 640: 195. 744: 170. 857:
 185. 903: 149. 1118: 195. 1302:
 196. 1390: 184. 1451: 194. 1452:
 196.
 — *Heraclidae*, 220: 139. 284: 142.
 474, 646: 134. 947: 137.
 — *Hercules Furens*: 154, 159, 175, 176,
 178, 180.
 110: 164. 170: 156. 177: 161.
 339: 170. 348: 172, 193. 419:
 195. 445: 185. 487: 164. 514:
 189. 520: 182. 565: 152. 622:
 188. 632: 185. 763: 160, 162.
 849: 152. 904: 184. 1042: 184.
 1233: 152. 1243: 152. 1295: 186.
 1341: 148. 1346: 152. 1347: 152.
 1424: 185.
 — *Hippolytus*: 100, 110, 129, 145, 146,
 149, 151.
 73: 95, 117. 102: 130. 120: 127.
 121: 138. 198: 139, 143. 225:
 101. 252: 98. 274: 141. 284: 112.
 325: 143. 340: 101. 362: 120.
 380: 130. 490: 101. 565: 113,
 143. 606: 143. 664: 131. 669:
 120. 732: 138. 812: 102. 976:
 124. 983: 131. 991: 125. 1059:
 127. 1343: 141.
 — *Hypsipyle*: 173, 188.
 — *Ion*: 153, 173, 177, 180, 190.
 56: 149. 94: 182. 112: 193. 131:
 149. 134: 149. 184: 164. 241:
 187. 307: 177. 370: 149. 429:
 188. 585: 149. 676: 150. 725:
 155. 738: 182. 763: 182. 859:
 182. 961: 181. 1045: 168. 1074:
 197. 1132: 164. 1250: 182. 1277:
 177. 1325: 149. 1512: 171.
 — *Iphigenia in Aulis*: 151, 153 f., 173,
 177, 180, 184, 202, 205.
 6: 165. 164: 158, 193. 320: 187.
 590: 184. 681: 181. 751: 160.
 1241: 181. 1327: 195. 1466:
 179.
 Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*: 151 f.,
 173, 175, 177.
 220: 184. 227: 195. 249: 189.
 380: 148. 570: 170. 611: 177.
 627: 177. 632: 163. 638: 155.
 803: 188. 827: 179. 1068: 182.
 1089: 194. 1123: 197. 1222: 184.
 — *Medea*: 107 f., 110, 114, 118 f., 129,
 146, 151, 154, 173, 176, 189, 200,
 205.
 20: 130. 119: 98. 187: 104. 215:
 137. 364: 130. 408: 124. 475:
 125. 500: 130. 516: 104. 627:
 122. 663: 143. 689: 141. 807:
 130. 824: 122, 138. 923: 139.
 1021: 112. 1025: 117. 1040: 130.
 1071: 115. 1078: 130. 1079: 124.
 1157: 116. 1200: 116. 1213: 116.
 1240: 130. 1273: 120.
 — *Melanippe Sapiens*: 129.
 — *Orestes*: 173, 197, 202.
 34: 187. 129: 188. 140: 183. 166:
 187. 219: 183, 187. 253: 179.
 385: 187. 665: 184. 917: 151.
 1225: 172. 1369: 183. 1426: 193.
 1573: 183.
 — *Phaethon*: 162, 164, 183, 184.
 — *Phoenissae*: 151, 155, 175, 184, 197.
 159: 187. 203: 196. 301: 182.
 397: 185. 457: 187. 504: 168.
 531: 185. 549: 184. 782: 185.
 784: 193. 835: 164. 1694: 182.
 — *Sibeneboea*: 98, 107.
 — *Suppliants*: 105.
 71: 102. 238: 131. 412: 131. 429:
 131. 517: 125. 585: 102. 911:
 129. 980: 134, 138.
 — *Trojan Women*: 151, 155, 159, 165.
 122: 193. 128: 196. 143: 172.
 308: 179. 365: 188. 462: 182.
 511: 193. 680: 161. 897: 183.
 1257: 183.
 — *Fragments*, 118: 183. 286: 128.
 292: 127. 369: 99. 484: 141. 506:
 128. 697: 141. 794: 127.
Eusebia: 31, 33, 47, 79, 95, 108, 126,
 145, 148, 150.
 Fehr, K.: 63.
 Fränkel, H.: v, 11, 18, 20, 32, 35.

- Geissler, P.: ix.
 Gelo: 1, 45.
 Girard, P.: 78.
 Gorgias: 132, 147, 158, 170, 203.
 —Fragments, 6: 136, 137. 11: 121, 123 ff., 131 f., 137. 11A: 102, 109, 121, 124, 137, 139. 23: 132.
 Gnomes: 68, 89, 124, 161.
 Gundert, H.: 56, 75.
 Hahland, W.: 191.
 Haspels, C. E.: 29, 37, 60.
 Hecataeus: 51, 206.
 —Fragments, 15: 11. 30: 29.
 Heinz, J.: ix.
 Heraclitus: 13, 38, 102, 206.
 —Fragments, 5: 32. 10: 38. 40: 13, 32. 42: 32. 62: 38. 104: 32. 112: 32. 117: 11.
 Hermippus, fragments, 4, 63: 132.
 Herodotus: 99, 105, 109, 111, 114, 118, 121, 131 f., 137, 145, 166, 169 f.
 —i, 11: 102. 25: 117. 34: 97. 45: 124. 87: 137. 91: 97. 119: 117. 127: 97. 141: 104. 159, 207: 97.
 —ii, 120: 98. 172: 104.
 —iii, 14: 112. 36: 111. 38: 129. 80: 131.
 —v, 49: 124. 92: 104.
 —vi, 12: 4. 35: 115. 86: 105. 131: 117.
 —vii, 10: 103, 123, 124, 132, 137. 16: 127. 139: 96. 203: 96.
 —ix, 122: 105, 128.
 Hiero: 45, 48, 50 f., 63.
 Hippocrates: 131.
 —*De Aeribus, &c.*, 12: 137. 14, 24: 128.
 —*De Morbo Sacro*, 1: 127.
 Hipponax: ix, 5, 42, 199.
 —Fragments, 4: 15. 16: 5, 11. 77: 15.
 Homer: 2, 4, 13 ff., 19, 23, 29, 49, 52, 64, 88, 95, 109, 124, 137, 172, 199, 203.
 Homeric hymn, xxvii: 20.
 Hybris: 33, 42, 53 ff., 57 ff., 63 ff., 68, 74 ff., 79, 82, 91, 96, 99, 104, 111, 206.
 Hymns: 20, 137, 158, 172, 195, 203.
 Ibycus: 4, 7, 12, 20, 30, 42, 203, 206.
 —Fragments, 3: 11, 20, 22. 6: 9, 11, 12. 8: 7. 9: 9.
 Idealism: 76, 108, 126, 150, 198, 204.
 Illig, L.: 68.
 Imagery, *see under* Metaphors and Similes.
 Inventiveness: 133, 172, 197, 207.
 Ion: 46, 127, 133, 200.
 —Fragments, 36: 104. 38: 104. 44: 79. 53: 104. 1 (Diels-Kranz): 102. Reitzenstein, 89, 24: 115. *ap. Plut. Cam.* 9: 46. *Per.* 5, 28: 46.
 Ionian revolt: 1.
 Irony: 114, 153, 177.
 Isocrates: ix, 147, 156, 158.
 —xviii: 156. 24: 196. 59: 158.
 —xxi, 2: 185, 196. 5, 7: 196. 14: 158.
 Jaeger, W.: 30.
 Jebb, R. C.: ix, 159.
 Kaibel, G.: ix.
 Keywords: 88, 124, 161.
 Kock, T.: ix.
 Kranz, W.: v, 14, 28, 48 f., 68, 108, 137, 141, 162, 172, 192 ff., 197.
 Krieg, W.: 190.
 Langlotz, E.: ix, 17.
 Lasus: 2, 15.
 Lawrence, A. W.: 157.
 Legrand, Ph.-E.: 137.
 Line: 12, 15, 86, 92, 115, 117 f., 144, 154, 162, 191, 198, 205.
 Literary criticism: 49, 132, 171.
 Literary reminiscence: 137, 172.
 Lorentz, F. von: 197.
 Luxury: 31, 43, 134, 147, 174, 207.
 Lysias: 147, 151, 153, 156, 161, 163, 198, 205.
 —xii, 6: 163. 9: 181. 14: 185. 18: 161. 20: 153. 78: 161. 92: 181. 100: 185.
 —xx, 2: 151. 10: 151. 23: 151.
 —xxiv, 2: 175. 4: 156. 9: 175. 12: 175. 20: 162.
 —xxxi, 1: 158. 4: 196. 7: 156. 17: 158. 20: 181. 30: 181.
 —xxxii, 5: 162.

- Maas, P.: xix.
 Magnificence: viii, 35, 66 f., 75, 92, 100, 102 f., 145, 186, 197, 203, 206.
 Mannerism: vii, 16, 18, 20, 50 f., 60, 87, 126, 136, 146, 162, 163, 166, 174, 186, 196 ff., 202 f., 205, 207.
 Mazon, P.: 132, 154.
 Melissus, fragment 7: 137.
 Meredith, H.: 182.
 Metaphors: 35, 43, 50, 64, 88, 92, 103, 123, 145, 185, 196, 197, 199, 201.
 Metre: 12, 22, 37, 71, 87, 103, 107, 142, 180, 190, 196, 200, 205.
 Micon: 47, 55, 74, 206.
 Murray, G. G. A.: 33, 55, 57, 66, 70, 98, 103, 135, 148, 163, 187, 193, 194.
 Myron, *see under* Sculpture, Athenian.
 Nature: 9, 42, 85, 115, 164, 204.
 Nauck, A.: ix.
 Navarre, O.: 171.
 Naxian coin: 61, 69.
 Nestle, W.: 47, 53, 54, 77, 170.
 Nicias: 147, 148, 151, 167, 177.
 Nomos: 128, 131, 141.
 Old Oligarch, the: 168.
 — i: 168. ii: 196.
 Onatas: 2.
 Overbeck, J.: vii, ix.
 Paeonius: 134.
 Page, D. L.: 137.
 Panaenus: 58.
 Parataxis: 11, 28, 38, 52, 70, 89, 91, 137, 157 f.
 Parmenides: 2, 20.
 — Fragment, 1: 20.
 Parody: 14, 49, 132, 171.
 Parrhasius: 102, 106, 115, 122, 132, 135, 140, 144, 207.
 Pausan: 199.
 Payne, H. G. G.: vi, ix, 3, 8, 16, 17.
 Pearson, A. C.: ix, 51, 58.
 Pericles: 46, 93, 101, 104, 108, 110, 117, 145, 149, 167, 201.
 Periods: 19, 29, 89, 137, 158.
 Persia: 1, 4, 30, 46, 53, 91.
 Perspective: 40, 73 f., 144, 187, 198, 201.
 Pfuhl, E.: vi, viii, 85, 173.
 Pherecrates: 200.
 — Fragments, 67–70: 142.
 Phidias: vi, 95, 207.
 Philoxenus: 196.
 — Fragment, 1: 195.
 Phrynichus: 8, 17, 47, 87, 206.
 — Fragments, 2: 20. 6: 20. 13: 8, 115. 21: 8. 1 (Diehl): 36. Reitzenstein, 154, 7: 8.
 Physis: 31, 47, 75, 99, 110, 128 f., 131, 141, 151.
 Picard, C.: 98, 174.
 Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.: 15, 37, 55, 121, 154.
 Pindar: 2, 22, 30, 32, 34, 43, 45, 47, 50, 53, 63, 66, 70, 75, 80, 88, 91, 104, 145, 201, 203 f., 206.
 — *Isthmian*, ii. 35: 75. iv. 16, 49: 64. v: 88. 49: 64. 51: 55. vi. 19: 52. 66: 75. vii. 37: 70. 39: 69.
 — *Nemean*, i. 1: 66. 53: 69. ii. 10: 37, 38. 20: 37. iii. 80: 50, 65. v. 14: 31. 20: 38. vii. 10: 23. 15: 22. 17: 38. 54: 38. 77: 22. 84: 37. x: 71. xi: 71. 12: 75.
 — *Olympian*, i. 1: 66, 70. 46: 89. 67: 80. 71: 85. 88: 70. ii. 53: 52. 61: 89. 83: 70. vii: 71. 27: 68. ix: 71. 100: 75. x: 88. 71: 85. xi. 20: 75. xii. 13: 65. xiii: 71. 10: 55. 93: 70.
 — *Pythian*, i: 71. 7: 88. 13: 88. 19: 50. 29: 88. 67: 88. ii: 71. 20: 53. 30: 55. 49: 54, 95. iii: 63. 63: 56. iv. 78: 85. vi. 1: 22. 19: 28. 28: 28. 32: 38. 40: 28. 44: 28. viii: 71. 44: 75. 95: 57, 69. x. 5: 22. 23: 38. 27: 31, 54. 31: 23. 51: 35, 37. xi. 50b: 70. xii. 8: 24. 22: 23.
 — Fragment, 109: 12.
 Pisistratus (Pisistratids): 1, 3, 4, 13, 43, 91, 136, 206.
 Plato: v, 148, 198, 207.
 — *Republic*: 94, 123, 144, 150.
 Plato (comicus): 116, 133.
 Pohlenz, M.: 61, 107, 118, 171.

- Polyclitus, *see also* Sculpture, Peloponnesian: 115, 117, 122.
 Polycrates: 1, 3, 4, 7, 12, 42.
 Polygnotus: vii, 47, 55 ff., 74, 76 ff., 81 ff., 206.
 Polymathy: 13, 42, 48, 91, 131, 133, 171.
 Powell, J. U.: 133.
 Poulsen, F.: 7.
 Praschniker, C.: 97, 120.
 Pratinas: 2, 15.
 Prodicus: 153, 170.
 Protagoras: 48, 94, 101, 128.
 Pythagoras: 2, 13, 32.
 Pythagoras, the sculptor: 2, 61.

 Radermacher, L.: 171.
 Realism: vii, 3, 5, 15, 30, 36, 60, 84, 92, 100, 108, 115, 126, 130, 138 f., 145 f., 163, 166, 174 f., 186, 198 ff., 204 f., 207.
 Religion, *see* Eusebia.
 Rhythm: 87, 103, 146, 162.
 Ring-form: 24, 52, 123, 125, 161, 204.
 Rodenwaldt, G.: 55, 134, 140.
 Romantic elements: 134, 147, 173.
 Rumpf, A.: 5, 144, 171.

 von Salis, A.: 9, 18, 61, 63, 73, 82, 109, 115, 162.
 Sappho: 4, 85.
 Schaal, H.: 83.
 Schadewaldt, W.: v, 42, 50, 63, 102, 130, 139, 143, 152, 156, 163, 165, 172, 183, 188, 193.
 Schefold, K.: 174, 198.
 Schmid, W. and Stählin, O.: v, viii, 8, 31, 34, 47, 58, 68, 88.
 Schuhl, P.-M.: 144.
 Schweitzer, B.: vi.
 Sculpture: vi, viii.
 — Aegina, temple of Aphaia: 18, 25, 28, 37, 41, 43, 54, 73, 90.
 — Athenian: 3, 12, 16 ff., 47, 206.
 Acropolis Museum, 643: 8. 674: 18. 684: 36.
 Amazon: 122.
 Antenor kore: 36.
 Blond boy: 39, 41, 43, 204.
 Critian boy: 39.
 Sculpture, Athenian (*cont.*):
 Demeter of Charchel: 95, 150.
 Dresden Zeus: 95, 125.
 Eleusis relief: 113.
 Erechtheum, frieze: 192. Kore: 150, 157, 186.
 Euthydikos kore: 39, 43, 204.
 Hegeso stele: 161, 162, 163, 198.
 Kore Albani: 95, 126.
 'Lemnian' Athena: 126.
 'Mourning' Athena: 91.
 Myron, Athena and Marsyas: 54, 63, 73, 83. Discobolus: 86.
 Nike temple, balustrade: 157, 160, 162, 163, 186, 189, 192, 197, 202 f., 205. Frieze: 183, 184, 186.
 Orpheus relief: 113, 117, 121.
 Parthenon: viii, 93, 145. Frieze: 95, 97, 109, 115, 118, 123, 125 f., 144, 146, 157, 198, 204 f. Metopes: 97 f., 101, 120 f. Pediment: 97, 118, 120, 135, 145.
 Parthenos: 95, 97, 122, 125 f.
 Pericles: 109.
 Persian rider: 17.
 Procne: 103.
 Schrader's kore: 12, 16, 18, 24, 36, 39, 42, 202.
 Themistoclean bases: 18, 25.
 Theseum: 101.
 Treasury at Delphi: 7, 18.
 'Venus Genetrix': 162, 163.
 — Ionian: 4, 12, 13, 42, 206.
 Crito stele: 178.
 Harpy tomb: 9, 11, 157, 203.
 Head from Miletus: 7.
 Lycian sarcophagus: 161, 183, 188.
 Nereid monument: 163, 165, 187, 192, 205.
 Nike of Paconius: 134.
 Rhodian terra-cotta: 7, 12, 30.
 Siphnian treasury: 6, 7, 16, 28, 42, 56, 204.
 Trysa frieze: 157, 165, 187, 203.
 — Olympia, Temple of Zeus: 145.
 Pediments: 52, 54, 55, 59 ff., 71, 73, 79, 81 f., 86, 90, 92, 95, 101, 200.
 Metopes: 54, 71, 73, 78, 84, 92, 95.

- Sculpture, Peloponnesian: 3, 43.
 Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo: 61, 73.
 Hestia Giustiniani: 61.
 Phigalia frieze: 183, 184, 186, 201.
 Polyclitus, Diadumenus: 115,
 117. Doryphorus: 117.
 Zeus of Artemisium: 54, 61.
 — West Greek: 3, 51.
 Boston throne: 62, 82.
 Ludovisi throne: 51 f., 68, 82, 91.
 Niobid: 115.
 Selinus, Temple E: 51, 67.
 Seewald, J.: 87, 90.
 Shading: 40, 74, 144, 188, 201.
 Sheppard, J. T.: 47, 193.
 Sicyonian painters: 198.
 Similes: 34, 50, 87, 116, 163, 199.
 Simonides: 2, 8, 9, 32, 34, 41, 43, 45,
 47, 75, 87, 204, 206.
 — Fragments, 4: 32, 41, 75. 5: 38. 6:
 34. 13: 8, 9, 84. 17: 16. 23: 15.
 27: 10. 30: 20. 33: 16. 44: 16.
 Simplicity: 39, 43, 61, 150, 162.
Skiagraphia: 144.
 Snell, B.: 23, 53, 77, 82.
 Socrates: 101, 148, 150, 198, 207.
 Solmsen, F.: 171, 177.
 Sophocles: vii, viii, ix, 8, 47, 49 ff., 53,
 55, 58 f., 66, 74 ff., 87 ff., 94, 100,
 107 ff., 115, 121, 127, 132, 139,
 145 f., 148, 150, 153 ff., 158, 163,
 166, 176, 184, 188, 190, 196,
 200 ff., 203 ff., 207.
 — *Ajax*: ix, 58 f., 72, 76 f., 82 f., 90,
 92, 107, 110, 139, 150, 203, 204,
 205.
 17: 50. 121: 83. 171: 89. 201:
 67. 265: 51. 271: 87. 295: 52.
 317: 66. 348: 67, 81. 430: 80.
 457: 88. 470: 76. 473: 89. 523:
 89. 545: 64, 76. 558: 84. 576: 66.
 596: 51, 194. 646: 56. 662: 64.
 666: 53. 670: 64. 693: 49. 695:
 51. 723: 89. 766: 55. 815: 66,
 88. 817: 64. 831: 89. 866:
 67. 961: 87. 981: 127. 986: 50.
 992: 80, 180. 1028: 64. 1111: 63.
 1142: 63. 1190: 51. 1201: 89. 1221:
 51. 1229: 52. 1253: 50. 1273: 64.
 1317: 51. 1357: 75. 1376: 83.
 Sophocles, *Antigone*: ix, 100, 105 ff.,
 110, 121, 145 f., 150, 166, 176,
 200, 204.
 128: 97. 159: 103. 223: 100. 317:
 100. 332: 122, 128. 365: 126.
 388: 100. 454: 96. 456: 168.
 474: 104. 528: 141. 536: 168.
 585: 124. 604: 95 f. 635: 98.
 683: 123. 687: 132. 736: 131.
 783: 115. 898: 117. 1043: 127.
 1091: 112. 1115: 137, 138. 1146:
 102. 1272: 111. 1347: 97.
 — *Electra*: 150, 153 f., 158, 173, 202.
 13: 186. 17: 164. 140: 150. 164:
 150. 187: 150. 247: 148. 254:
 181. 307: 150. 330: 150. 338:
 168. 489: 185. 498: 148. 516:
 156. 616: 150. 630: 155. 634:
 163. 664: 187. 757: 163. 808:
 150. 823: 190. 938: 150. 962:
 150. 980: 186. 1042: 168. 1098:
 176. 1126: 180. 1143: 150. 1150:
 172. 1220: 179. 1241: 150. 1259:
 150.
 — *Eurypylus*: 59.
 — *Niobe*: 58.
 — *Oedipus Coloneus*: 154, 159, 166,
 173, 198, 203.
 118: 183. 258: 156. 278: 148. 311:
 187. 464: 188. 515: 182. 592: 150.
 607: 163. 668: 162, 164, 193.
 833: 190. 1044: 193. 1211: 160.
 1245: 162. 1258: 187. 1540: 184.
 — *Oedipus Tyrannus*: 47, 93, 105 ff.,
 109 f., 114, 118, 121, 129, 137,
 139, 153, 173, 201, 205.
 216: 124, 181. 258: 137. 312:
 117. 334: 139. 350: 114. 380:
 137. 387: 102. 437: 110. 532:
 139. 613: 124. 644: 112. 646:
 112. 726: 143. 815: 139. 863:
 122. 865: 96. 875: 104. 895: 94.
 950: 113. 964: 139. 967: 142.
 977: 128. 981: 127. 1008: 142.
 1076: 110. 1086: 122. 1183: 139.
 1391: 139.
 — *Philoctetes*: 150, 154, 159, 166, 173,
 204.
 88: 151. 120: 151. 254: 181. 331:
 158. 387: 152. 391: 190. 410:

- Sophocles, *Philoctetes* (*cont.*):
 188. 468: 181. 502: 161. 530:
 162. 639: 152. 658: 176. 730:
 160, 183. 810: 183. 827: 190.
 895: 152. 925: 152. 927: 181.
 958: 161. 965: 152. 1095: 150.
 1181: 184. 1224: 152. 1251: 152.
 1254: 183. 1304: 149. 1350: 176.
 1402: 152. 1436: 172.
 —*Telephæa*: 72.
 —*Trachiniae*: 105, 107 f., 110, 116, 121.
 203: 104. 221: 112. 425: 132.
 427: 142. 517: 116. 560: 136.
 588: 132. 613: 114. 632: 107.
 699, 703, 768, 771: 116. 971: 119.
 1118: 136. 1142: 143. 1212: 136.
 1278: 96.
 — Fragments, 11: 66. 127: 51. 210:
 66. 240: 59. 245: 59. 442: 58.
 523: 58. 66. 534, 535: 85. 596:
 66. 611: 51.
 Sophron: 142.
Sophrosyne: 31, 34, 42, 47, 54, 56 ff.,
 63 f., 74, 82 f., 91, 94, 96 ff., 100,
 108, 110 f., 126, 130, 138, 145,
 148 f., 150, 152, 206, 207.
 Sparta: 30, 47, 93.
 Spectacle: 49, 57 f., 80, 92, 100, 105,
 112, 145, 178, 183, 201 ff.,
 204 ff.
 Staccato: 38 f., 43, 69 f., 102, 161,
 184.
 Stoa Poikile: 55, 58.
 Strattis: 172.
 Stuart Jones, H.: vi, ix.
 Style, classical: vii, 48, 75, 84, 89 ff.,
 100, 108, 146, 153, 166, 174,
 191 f., 198, 204 f.
 rich: 8, 17, 34, 36, 66, 135, 138, 146,
 162, 174, 182, 189, 191 ff., 197.
 sensuous: 3, 12, 15, 22, 24, 30, 34,
 39, 42, 48, 51, 85, 91 f., 115, 126,
 136, 174, 206, 207.
 simple: 34, 39, 43, 92.
 sophisticated: vii, 13, 15, 22, 30, 34,
 39, 42, 48, 51 f., 87, 91 f., 136,
 146, 163, 174, 206, 207.
 strong: 34, 43, 45, 48, 53, 73, 84,
 86, 88, 91, 100, 108, 126, 145, 174,
 184 f., 201, 205, 206.
 Symbolism: 63 f., 104.
 Symmetry: 27, 38, 67, 90, 118, 146,
 158, 204 f.
 Syracuse: 1, 5, 45.
 Täubler, E.: 167.
 Teleclides: 99.
 Thackeray, H. St. J.: 88.
 Themistocles: 8, 45 f., 60.
 Theodorus: vi.
 Theognis: ix, 30.
 183: 31. 237: 26. 673: 38.
 Theseum: 55.
 Thomson, G.: ix, 52, 72, 89.
 Thrasymachus: 121.
 — Fragments, 1: 103. 5: 139. 6: 139.
 6A: 131. A, 11: 103. 12: 103.
 Thucydides: 94, 153, 155, 156, 158,
 163, 167 ff., 196, 198.
 — i: 153. 8: 167. 22: 169. 23: 186.
 68: 170. 70: 196. 76: 167. 84:
 149. 88: 167. 118: 167. 138:
 169. 140: 157. 141: 157. 143:
 157. 144: 157.
 — ii, 2: 186. 34: 163. 48: 169. 53:
 94. 63: 167. 65: 92, 149.
 — iii, 22: 163. 36: 168. 37: 168, 196.
 82: 167, 169.
 — iv, 17: 149. 27: 177.
 — v, 16: 158. 85: 170. 103: 185. 105:
 167, 172.
 — vi, 9: 170. 15: 168. 24: 177. 30:
 162, 163, 179. 31: 186. 92: 169.
 — vii, 70: 163, 179. 75: 158, 181, 186.
 77: 172. 86: 151. 87: 181.
 Thucydides, son of Melesias: 167.
 Tierney, M.: 174.
 Timanthes: 173, 178, 202.
 Timocreon: 60, 69, 89.
 — Timotheus: 147, 155, 197, 201, 207.
 — *Persæ*, 8: 193. 30: 185. 102: 196.
 162: 188. 215: 173. 224: 173.
 — Fragments, 1: 195. 2: 195. 7: 173.
 Transitions: vii, 11, 23, 25, 51, 70 ff.,
 106, 123, 125, 143, 155, 170, 186,
 197, 203.
 Triads: 21, 88, 124.
Tyche: 127, 171.
 Typical scenes, compositions, &c.: 120,
 153.

Unity: 40, 71 ff., 118, 154, 157 f.
Untersteiner, M.: 9.

Vases: vii, 1, 5, 9, 11, 74.

— Athenian: 14, 17, 28.

Achilles ptr.: 62, 76, 84, 86, 91 f.,
115, 117, 125, 140, 145 f., 201,
204, 207.

Alcimachus ptr.: 84.

Altamura ptr.: 56, 69, 71.

Andocides ptr.: 12, 16, 39, 51, 202.

Aristophanes: 192.

Beldam ptr.: 60, 200.

Berlin ptr.: 10, 12, 16, 18, 40, 51,
84, 86, 100, 204 ff., 207.

Black-figured vases: 16, 28, 36, 38,
60.

Boston phiale ptr.: 101, 113, 121,
200.

Brygos ptr.: 6, 14, 25, 27, 36, 37.

California hydria: 157, 160, 174, 192.

Chicago ptr.: 79, 83.

Cleophon ptr.: 95, 103, 109.

Cleophrades ptr.: 34, 35, 36, 37, 40,
42, 43, 74, 84, 179, 201, 203, 206.

Codrus ptr.: 136, 203.

Dinos ptr.: 157, 161, 165, 174,
178, 179, 186, 188, 198.

Duris: 10, 18, 136, 203.

Eretria ptr.: 120, 125, 136, 145,
146, 165, 197, 202 f.

Euaeon ptr.: 83, 91.

Euphronius: 27, 29, 42, 76, 136,
204, 207.

Euthymides: 36, 40, 41, 43, 73.

Geometric vases: 199.

Lycan ptr.: 95, 106, 116, 141,
144, 145, 146.

Macron: 11, 36.

Menon ptr.: 25, 27, 28.

Meidias ptr.: 157, 160, 161, 165,
178, 188, 191, 192, 195, 197,
202 ff.

Nausicaa ptr.: 136.

Niobid ptr.: 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 67,
69, 71, 74, 78, 81, 82, 90, 103,
202, 206.

Orpheus ptr.: 120, 140.

Pan ptr.: 48, 51, 52, 56, 60, 71, 73,
91, 106, 136, 202, 206.

Vases, Athenian (*cont.*):

Panaitios ptr.: 6, 14, 28, 41, 200.

Penelope ptr.: 101.

Penthesilea ptr.: 60, 67, 69, 83, 86,
206.

Phintias: 18, 25, 27, 28, 39.

Pistoxenus ptr.: 52, 54, 61, 79, 82,
83, 200.

Rectangle ptr.: 136.

Reed ptr.: 161, 162, 178, 180, 188,
198, 201.

Sabouroff ptr.: 115, 125.

Sotades ptr.: 85, 205.

Telephus ptr.: 60, 69, 200.

Thanatos ptr.: 86, 117, 122, 123,
140, 141, 201.

Villa Giulia ptr.: 91.

White Lekythoi: 86, 109, 115,
122, 123, 136, 140, 145, 180,
188, 191, 198, 201.

— Caeretan hydriae: 9, 12, 13, 14, 27,
43, 60.

— Phineus cup: 9, 25, 27, 35.

— Pontic group: 14, 200.

Verrall, A. W.: 62.

Violence: 34, 36 f., 39, 43, 59, 69, 92,
100 f., 145, 182, 183 f., 199, 201.

Vitruvius: 74.

Wade-Gery, H. T.: 3, 20.

Wecklein, N.: 49.

Whittaker, M.: 49.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von: 10,
88.

Winter, F.: v, viii, 61.

Wyss, B.: 172, 173.

Xenophanes: vii, ix, 2, 13, 31, 52, 127,
156, 205.

— Fragments, 1: 21, 32. 2: 26, 32. 3:
31, 135. 11–16: 32.

Xenophon, *Atb. Pol.*: *see under*. Old
Oligarch.

Yorke, E. C.: ix.

Zahn, R.: 157.

Zeno: 51.

Zeuxis: 103, 109, 134 f., 140 f., 145 ff.,
173, 201, 207.

Zielinski, T.: ix.

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